

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World



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25 CENTS

HOMELESS TAKE DIRECT ACTION

Over the past six months, organized groups of the homeless have shown that direct action tactics are still as viable as they ever were:

In Chicago, 25 members of the Chicago/Gary area local of the National Union of the Homeless broke into several apartments in an unused project and invited 9 homeless to take up residence there. They demanded that Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) officials explain to them why 5700 public-housing units (some of which still have heat, water, and electricity) are empty. With typical bureaucratic evasiveness, the CHA responded by saying that the group of homeless activists would have to go through the standard application procedure for public housing (the estimated wait for an apartment: six months to a year!), and a day later the 9 homeless were evicted by security guards under the pretext that they posed a potential threat to the other residents.

In Oakland, 60 members of the National Union of the Homeless local broke into three abandoned houses which were part of a bankrupt city redevelopment project and demanded that 700 vacant privately-owned houses be restored and turned over to the city's homeless. The group of activists occupied the buildings for several hours before police arrived and arrested 17 of them.

In Seattle, a group of homeless activists and their supporters occupied an unused 98-room hotel to protest the city's decision to make emergency shelter available only when the temperature drops below 32 degrees (almost a cruel joke on the part of the city when you consider the rainy climate of the northwest coast).

In Detroit, over 100 members of the National Union of the Homeless took over 2 vacant apartments in an unused project (in which, once all the vacant housing had heat and water) for 3 hours. The police arrested four activists—among them Ron Dannaby, vice president of the

NUH, and Chris Sprowal, the union's president and founder—on charges of trespassing. The remaining protestors dispersed after police threatened to arrest them.

In Berkeley, a group of homeless activists took over a vacant house owned by the University of California for the purpose of providing residence for some of Berkeley's homeless. A week

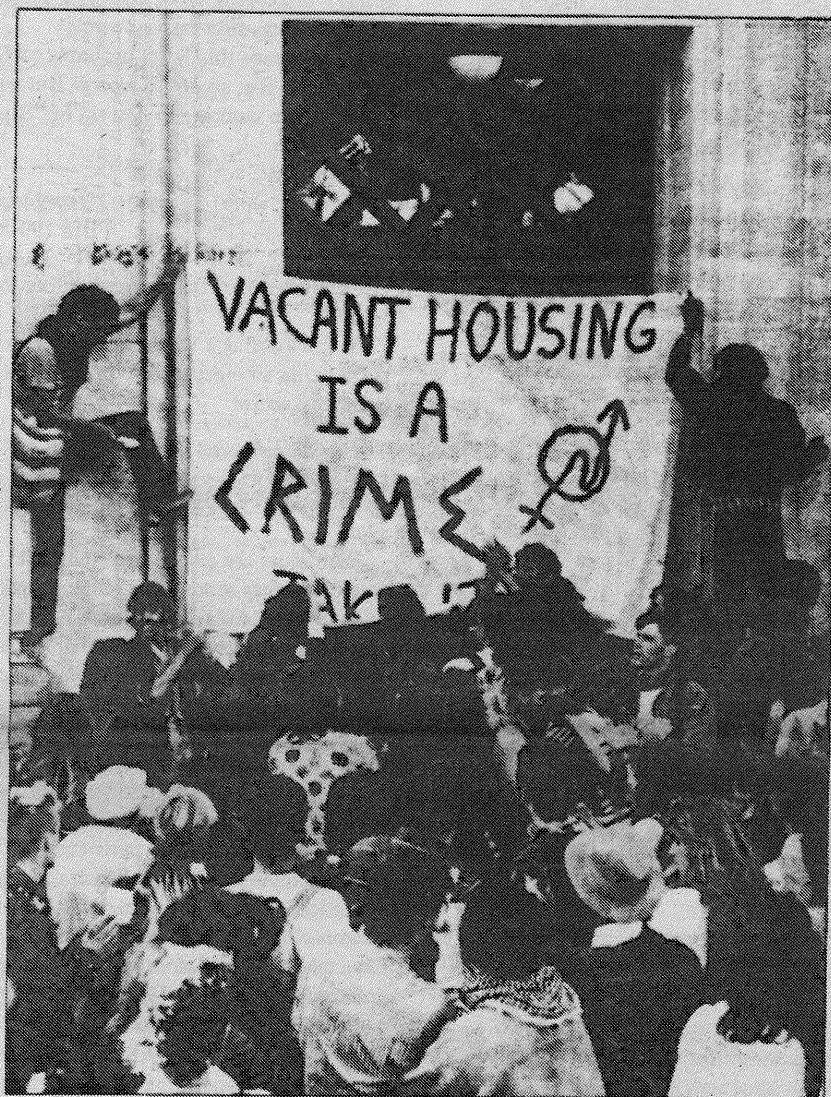
later, the eviction of the 35 homeless who had been squatting in the building by a squad of city and university police set off a day of rioting and protesting. Throughout the day the original group of activists were joined by students and other supporters until by midday there were close to 150 persons protesting the eviction. There were several violent confrontations with police and several of the protestors were beaten and arrested. The only response that campus officials had to give was that the eviction was necessary because the house, due to overcrowding and a failure to meet city codes, posed a fire hazard. Later that day, officials said that the house would be demolished as soon as possible.

* * * * *

The above incidents are just a part of the growing militant response to the problem of housing.

Caught between the government (which is doing its very best to jail and institutionalize them) and mainstream advocacy groups such as the Coalition of the Homeless (essentially reformist organizations—comparable to the AFL-CIA—which seem to think that the homeless problem can be solved by building more shel-

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Homeless activists protest the eviction of squatters by the University of California at Berkeley.

INSIDE:

Tenant Organizing

Joe Hill's Ashes

Paterson Revisited

Child Labor

in the Philippines

Civil Resistance Update

and more!

WORKERS' STRUGGLE IN POLAND

POLISH WORKERS STAND UP—AGAIN

Commentary

Between April 24 and May 11 Poland was shaken by a series of strikes which the bourgeois press in the West hailed as the worst labor unrest to hit the Eastern Bloc since the outlawing of Solidarity in 1982. However, as things unfolded, the "Polish Events" of 1988, though not insignificant, proved less spectacular or threatening to the state-capitalists economic order than our mentors undoubtedly hoped for.

The immediate impetus for the strikes were sharp price increases (ranging from 40% on basic food items to 200% on heating fuel) imposed by the government as part of its drive to reform Poland's price and wage structure to conform with International Monetary Fund guidelines. The Polish state hopes to get help from the IMF to improve its export sector, from which it derives hard currency with which it hopes to pay off its \$36 billion debt.

Beginning with a 12-hour work stoppage by municipal transport workers in Bydgoszcz—which won a 63% pay increase—the unrest soon spread to Nowa Huta where thousands of steelworkers struck at the giant Lenin Steel works to demand a 50% pay hike and the reinstatement of several workers who were dismissed in 1981 for union activity on behalf of Solidarnosc. While the government reaction to the strike committee was led by members of the official unions, was conciliatory, their position vis-a-vis Nowa Huta

was hard-line: no negotiations, the strike was declared illegal, and Solidarity leaders throughout the country were rounded up and detained for brief periods to head off any extension of the strike. Significantly Lech Walesa, leader of the more moderate wing of Solidarity, and the darling of the Western media, was left unmolested. The government's refusal to negotiate with "independent elements" (ie. Solidarity) was a challenge to the union to show to what extent they still wielded influence within the working class and incidentally pushed Solidarity to the fore in what had been largely spontaneous outbursts over economic demands, thus immediately adding a "political" dimension to the strikes. The government gambled on Solidarity's relative weakness and, as future events would bear out, won.

As May Day approached, tensions rose. Solidarity called for demonstrations of solidarity with the Nowa Huta strikers. On May Day itself some 12,000 people took part in illegal demonstrations and battled police in Poznan, Wroclaw, Torun, Lodz and Stalowa Wola as well as in Gdansk, the port city which was the center of the workers' revolt in 1980. The next day about 2,000 workers occupied the Lenin Shipyards in solidarity with Nowa Huta and in defense of their own demands for pay increases and the legalization of Solidarity. But that's as far as it went. While calls went out for solidarity strikes throughout the country but, except for a few isolated and short lived instances, few workers' responded. Clearly this was not going to be

another 1980. The government moved quickly to isolate strikes. While news media reported on the strikes it was done in the context of portraying the strikers as threatening the success of economic reforms and of being in the pay of "hostile foreign elements". Negotiations, both with the unofficial strike committee and the "official" unions, fell apart and the strike was declared illegal. Attempts by the Catholic Church, always looking for an opportunity to increase its role in Polish state affairs, to mediate the disputes also floundered. On May 5, ZOMO riot police stormed the Lenin steel works in Nowa Huta, arresting the strike committee and sending 32 workers to the hospital. At the same time the security forces tightened the noose around the Gdansk shipyard, effectively cutting off all supplies in a bid to starve out the occupiers, now numbering about 800. The government also began a campaign of fake attacks and provo-

cations to increase tensions in the yards, hoping to thus demoralize the strikers. This strategy bore fruit as more discouraged workers began to desert their fellows. By the time a settlement had been worked out between the strike committee and management on May 10 only about 300 remained. But these few hundred, mostly younger workers in their teens and early twenties, defied their "leaders" and refused to accept the agreement which—though it promised wage raises and amnesty for strikers—did not recognize their union, Solidarity. The immediate reaction of the Solidarity leadership (including Walesa) was to denounce the holdouts as "hotheads," but they abided by the remaining strikers will and issued new calls for Solidarity actions to stave off a government assault on the shipyards a la Nowa Huta. But the calls for solidarity went unheeded and, now unable to

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EDITORIAL

WHO NEEDS GOVERNMENT?

The IWW has been saying for years that the capitalists' government is, by definition, hostile to the best interests of the working class, and of the Earth itself. How could it be otherwise, when the very purpose of government is to enforce the rule of a dominant minority, and to enable this minority to pillage and plunder as it pleases, for more and more profits?

Government is not, has never been, and can't be "neutral" in the struggle of classes, and the same goes for government's minor components. Show us a branch of the state that pretends to serve all citizens equally and we'll show you a specialized bureaucracy promoting exploitation and injustice.

As a case in point the IWW has often noted that the so-called National Labor Relations Board should really be called the *Anti-Labor Relations Board*. Once upon a time some of our more naive critics argued that such a view was "exaggerated," but here as elsewhere the passage of years has shown that the IWW's "exaggerations" usually turn out to be free samples of the plain, unvarnished truth.

Never before in all history has it been so clear to so many that the bosses' machinery of state is little more than a juggernaut of devastation. One is hard put to think of a single governmental agency that is not aiding and abetting various criminal/commercial schemes to reduce every inch of this planet to commodities for sale, and to keep the parasitical profiteers on top at all costs.

Indeed, as the profit system devolves from one abysmal crisis to the next, the horrors it wreaks grow continually more horrible. The great Wobbly sage of yesteryear, T-Bone Slim, warned us long ago:

*In language fluent, raw and terse,
I'll say the world is getting worse.*

Just look around you, fellow workers: Even those branches of government seemingly most remote from the clique of con-men and cut-throats euphemistically known as the "business community" are in fact devoted exclusively to the proposition that "business as usual" is the law of the land, no matter how great the cost in suffering and waste.

For example, as our friends in Greenpeace and Earth First! have taken pains to point out, few organizations anywhere on this globe are more hostile to the idea of protecting the environment than the U.S. government's Environmental Protection Agency.

The April 21st "National Day of Outrage Against the U.S. Forest Disservice" made it clear to millions that the government's legion of forest rangers, the late Smokey the Bear notwithstanding, is merely a tool of the giant logging interests, and therefore the worst enemy the forests have ever had.

"Lackeys of Big Business" may be a hackneyed phrase, but it's still the most accurate description of these shamelessly corrupt bureaucrats.

The liberal weekly *Nation* recently reported that the top officialdom of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission includes virulent racists and at least one contributor to fascist publications. The report concludes that the Commission is worse than useless: "It has become dangerous to anyone who is interested in furthering civil rights."

The now-familiar pattern was probably set by the so-called "Defense" Department which, in more candid days, was known as the War Department. Ever since its official change of name, these experts in "defense" have waged more war—and incomparably more death and destruction—than any army in history.

But don't get us wrong—the IWW is not out to "clean up" the government (an impossible task, in any case), or to change the government, or to overthrow the government, or to devise a new government. The aim of the IWW is to organize the working class to abolish the wage-system and therefore to *render government unnecessary and obsolete*.

Quite simply, we don't want anything to do with government. At its best government is a foul gang of liars hired by other liars to enforce submission to one or more colossal lies—in this country they call it "free enterprise." The truly free society projected by the IWW has no need for such repressive abominations.

Significantly, the working class, the class most lied to and most lied about, is also the only class that has no need for lies to maintain its privileges (for one thing, it has no privileges). It is also the only class that has nothing to hide, and nothing to fear from the truth.

So do a good turn for your class, the wretched of the Earth, and for the long-suffering Earth itself: Fan the flames of discontent! Agitate! Educate! And organize for emancipation the IWW way!

—X322339

CORRESPONDENCE

Dear *IW*,

The issue on the South just couldn't have been better! I've been distributing copies as I tour the country showing the "Our Land Too" film. Had a good response to the paper in North Carolina and even in Mississippi.

Everywhere I go these days young people are interested in the IWW.

I had a great time in Chicago visiting all you Wobblies. Saw a report on TV last evening about the IWW organizing prisoners. It took me back some fifty years, to the beginnings of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union, when everyone said the things we were doing just couldn't be done. Keep on doing the impossible!

All Good Wishes,

H.L. Mitchell
Montgomery, AL

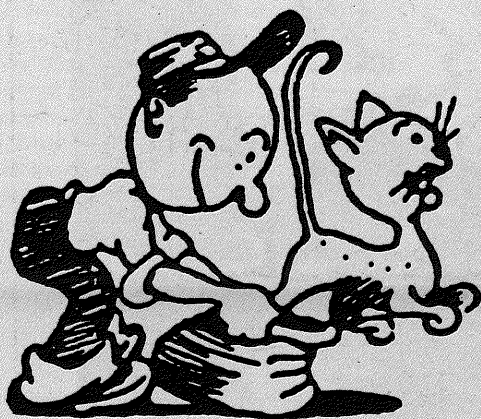
Fellow Workers:

In re: the *IW*. The March issue was the best in a long time, not just because it dealt a lot with the south, but the layout as well was very good. The committee did an excellent job.

It's always a "shot in the arm" when you get some good news about Wobbly activities, anywhere.

For the OBU,

Fred Hansen
X18584
Brooklyn, NY



Fellow Workers,

My appreciation for the fine *IW* on the south. The whole issue was high quality. I like the idea of focusing on a topic. That way the paper is more educational, since the news does tend to get repetitive. I hope it has a good reaction in the south, although I can imagine that the "tear it down" theme will be provocative to the racist assholes.

Thanks again for the great *IW*!

Dave Tucker
X331980
Bellingham, WA

Fellow Workers,

The April issue's "Gilbert Mers Memoir to be Published" describes me as "a lifelong Wob."

While I am flattered and grateful for the publicity, I am a little uneasy with the "lifelong" description. I suppose it's not really a big thing, but I've tried to stay fairly close to the truth (where it don't hurt). The fact is, I became acquainted with my first professed Wobbly, Tom McDonald by name, in 1933. It was 14 years later, in 1947, that I joined the

IWW, after years of hesitation and vacillation.

No point in making a big song and dance about it, I reckon, but I would feel more comfortable if you'd make a correction. Best regards to all.

Freedom,

Gilbert Mers
Houston, TX

To the Editors,

Well, "Big Brother" doesn't hold back any secrets, does he? Maybe "Big Brother" is a comedian?

In answer to my FOIA (Freedom of Information Act) requests, I finally got my FBI file. It is really ludicrous. 21 pages, with everything blacked out except that they got my name, address and phone number out of the Rockford phone book. They forgot to mention that I'm overweight and wear glasses, and I'm not going to reveal those facts to anyone at all! I'm keeping those criminal facts as two of my sinister, subversive secrets!

Whoever reads this letter probably already has an FBI file, so not to worry! But we do have to keep working to get rid of "Big Brother."

In Solidarity,

George LaForest
FBI# 199-814-346
Rockford, IL

PS: I never reveal that secret number to anyone.

PPS: Enclosed is a \$5 check to help on the publication so more people can keep my FBI number a secret. -G.L.

AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME

Right now the only other country in the world who has more of its citizens locked up in cages than America is South Africa. America has drawn a battle barricade and put prisoners on one side and the courts, police, bosses, workers on the other. So many citizens are in cages in America that it is the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States now is facing it. Did you ever stop and think of what would happen if 10,000 prisoners escaped at the same time in California, Michigan, Texas and Florida? Prisoners are indeed a viable revolutionary force to be reckoned with if organized. Prisoners in Ohio have taken the initiative and began organizing and unifying with the IWW.

Politicians do not represent prisoners. In fact, as far as representation by government goes prisoners are not represented. But it does not have to stay that way. The IWW can and will represent prisoners.

It won't be easy. Prison officials and government officials both take unity seriously. Together we can beat them and they know it. They will say you can't have a union, slander you, confiscate your literature, etc., and do anything and everything to prevent a union at your prison. Your rise means their demise. Whether there is a union in a prison is entirely up to those in cages though. Unity makes law and policy, for wardens as well as other bosses.

Ohio's unionized prisoners want to invite other states to band with us and the IWW. Let's get nationwide. Imagine shutting down prison industry in 5 different states on a given day at a given time! We can do it! Texas - we know you are strong, especially the Eastham Unit! California - we know you still have direction even though Brother George is gone! Florida! Organize and join us!

Dennis M. Wolfel

Dear Editors,

I appreciate the recent improvement of our Wobbly paper. It is covering more and more current events and important topical matters and so has more interesting pages. Fred Thompson left us the slogan, "Let's make this planet a good place to live," so it is appropriate that the *Industrial Worker* embraces such issues as the defense of wildlife and the protection of forests and waterways.

Of course we do not underestimate or overlook our class struggle, and it is good that the paper keeps us posted on the current strikes in different industries as well as the living legacy of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union and other aspects of workers' struggles, past and present.

Readers of *Industrial Worker* should feel free to write to the editors and tell them what you like and don't like about the paper, and what you would wish to read in it in the future.

I hope our current expansion will continue to attract more readers. I would like to see more short items about what Wobblies around the continent are doing. Let us get acquainted again through this Wobbly paper! If we let ourselves be known, others will do likewise and so develop a delightful column.

Does anyone know the whereabouts of Ingrid Leskela? She was my roommate at Work People's College one year in the late 1930s. I would so enjoy hearing from her again.

Also, does anyone know Oiva Nurmela? My mother and his mother were somehow related and my mother made a trip to see his mother in Berkeley, California, maybe during the last world war. Later Oiva wrote us that his mother had died.

Yours for the One Big Union,

Jenny Velsek,
Chicago

IW,

I received a copy of your paper at the Nevada Test Site demonstration on March 12, just before I was arrested. Glad to see you! We need you!

Please send me a one-year regular sub.

Richard E. Quiggle
Erie, PA

NOTICE

Because of delays in issuing the General Organization Bulletin (our printer's equipment suffered a breakdown during the printing of the GOB) we are hereby giving notice that the annual Convention ballot shall be sent to all members June 1st. Those wishing to vote must be in good standing; that is, votes will be considered valid only if member's dues records indicate that they are paid through May 1988. All ballots received at headquarters must be postmarked July 15 to be considered eligible.



* EDUCATION * * EMANCIPATION *

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

ONE UNION ONE ENEMY



Editors:

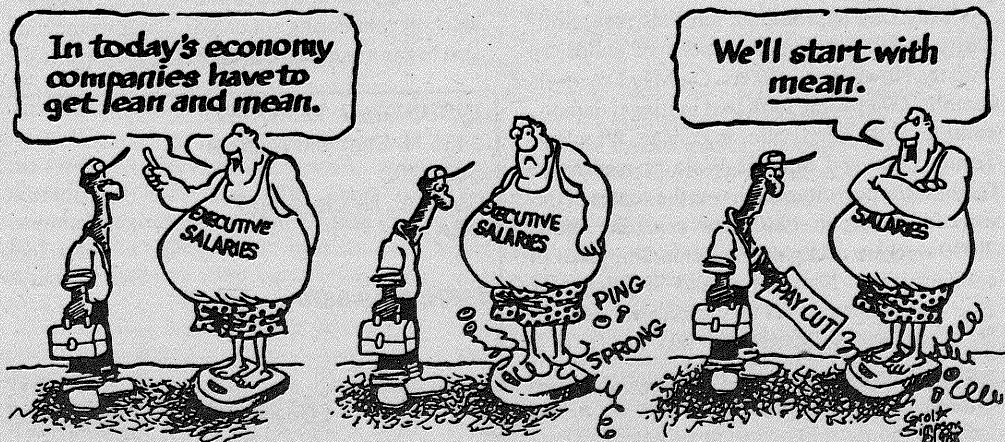
Jeff Ditz

Carlos Cortez, Fred Lee, Brian Myers,
Joan Myers, Dave Wells, Joel Williams,
Penny Pixler

General Secretary-Treasurer:

Paul Poulos

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Poland...

(continued from page 1)

ignore the writing on the wall, the remaining militants abandoned their strike on May 11 without a settlement, but vowing to continue the fight.

Capitalist Media Exploits Polish Strikers

Strikes in Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, have a habit of becoming the focus of international attention thanks largely to the penchant of the U.S. media to revel in the troubles of their ideological and economic rivals in the East. While constantly pushing for economic "reform" in the Soviet bloc they secretly wish its failure so as to pick up the pieces when/if the pink-bourgeoisie of the state-capitalist regimes decide or are forced to "re-privatize." They seek to utilize labor troubles in the East to further convince their own slaves in the West of the futility of seeking a more just economic order, since the "only alternative"—the disguised state-capitalism of the Soviet type—has proven a failure. So, for the nearly three weeks of Polish strikes the U.S. press kept the events on their front pages. They down-played the economic under-girding of the strikes, or tacitly concurred that the economic demands indeed threatened economic reform and played up the political aspects, pushing Walesa and company to the fore as the leaders of the strike.

Contrast this with the scant coverage given to labor disputes occurring in the West, particularly in the U.S.. How many Americans have heard about the sit-down strikes involving some 13,000 workers at the Daewoo Motor Company in South Korea in April, or are aware that several thousand paper workers have been on strike or locked out for over a year in a dispute with International Paper Co. right here in their own back yard?

When the strikes erupted the U.S. State Department urged negotiations and called upon the Polish government to take into consideration "the concerns of working people and their rights" when restructuring the economy. This writer does not recall the State Department calling upon Chrysler to take into consideration the concerns of the working people of Kenosha, Wisconsin when that corporation made its decision to close up shop. Nor do I recall any condemnation of the use of violence to quell labor unrest by U.S. allies or clients in Great Britain or Spain or South Korea or Guatemala, as the State Department condemned the use of force to end the occupation in Nowa Huta. And need we mention the use of police and National Guard forces right here in the U.S. to break strikes? Could it be that the hypocrisy of our masters is so transparent that it can't be seen, or are they so cynical that they believe that by being so blatant we will not react? I suspect both cases are true.

What Now?

The Polish strikes, and their outcomes, are an indication of things to come. Faced with a seemingly insurmountable economic and political crisis the state capitalist rulers of the Soviet bloc are in the process of restructuring their economies to make room for a greater role for market forces in determining allocation of resources, both capital and labor. This restructuring will inevitably result in greater hardship for the working class in terms of a lowering of their

standard of living, longer working hours and greater unemployment—in other words, increased exploitation. Naturally, some workers will want to resist this attack as they have done recently not only in Poland but in Romainia, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union itself. But, trapped by nationalist illusions fostered by practically all of the oppositionist currents, including Solidarity and the Catholic Church, resisters are vulnerable to propaganda which portrays them as "threatening the welfare of the nation," "jeopardizing genuine economic reform" or "promoting terrorism and bloody revolution," all of which have been used to blacken the reputations of the Polish strikers and, if the truth be known, of strikers all over the globe.

In the final analysis, if workers are going to be able to truly and effectively defend their interests it will be necessary to build an internationalist labor movement which will defend workers' interests regardless of nationality or the particular official ideologies which hold sway in various countries. Workers east and west are being subjected to "restructuring" as the world's employing class struggles to find a way out their crisis of profitability. Our response can only be "Workers of all Countries, Unite!"... the most appropriate answer to capitalism's death agony.

Mike Hargis

MAYDAY IN DENVER-BOULDER

We began our tribute to the workers of the world on Thursday, April 27, with a book-signing party at Left Hand Books in Boulder. Joyce Kornbluh signed her new edition of *Rebel Voices* (every Wobbly should own this beautiful new edition) and H.L. Mitchell signed his new book, *Roll the Union On*. Both books were published by our friends at Kerr Publishing. Mark Ross provided music as 87-year-old Wobbly Art Nurse, his teammate from Missoula, Montana, looked on. Mark and Joyce taped a radio program for Boulder's public radio station, KGNU, earlier in the day.

On Friday, April 29, another book-signing party was held at R.I.P. Bookstore in Denver. At 6:00 p.m. Wobblies Mark Ross and Ellen Klaver (from Boulder, Colorado) opened our three-day conference with rebel music. Joyce Kornbluh delivered the keynote address, a blistering condemnation of business unions and capitalist politics, followed by her analysis of the economic parallels between 1905 and 1988. Her conclusion was that working people need the I.W.W. more today than they ever have.

On Saturday, April 30, we began at 10:00 a.m. with a showing of "Mondragon," a video on Spanish industrial cooperatives, followed by a speaker who had lived in Mondragon and stud-

imperative."

In the evening we were treated to an hour of Andean folk music performed by a group of Chilean exiles now living in Denver. The music was so tremendous we had a difficult time getting the audience to let them off the stage so that Cathy Howell, an organizer with Grassroots Leadership in Durham, North Carolina, could show her video, "The Miners' March for Life." It was a powerful video showing 10,000 miners of the Bolivian C.O.B. (an I.W.W.-type industrial union) marching on La Paz in August 1986 and the paranoid reaction of the Bolivian army. Write to Cathy Howell at 1115 Park Avenue, Durham NC 27701 for more info on working conditions in Bolivia and a copy of this video. Bolivian workers need our solidarity.

On Sunday, May 1, we showed the movie "The Wobblies" at 10:00 a.m. and then spent the rest of the afternoon listening to a panel of speakers discuss the present paralysis of business unions in dealing with capitalism's all-out attack on workers around the world. The panel was moderated by FW Lowell May. Stan Weir, longshoreman and publisher of Singlejack Books in San Pedro, California, spoke about the rapid expansion of multinationals due to automation, cybernetics, and containerization in shipping and the need for rank-and-file controlled, horizontally structured, international networks of working people to combat this new, rapacious capitalism.

Kim Moody, from Labor Notes in Detroit, followed Stan with his own assessment of the bankruptcy of the top-down, conservative structures of today's labor unions in the U.S. and the need to return control to a more militant rank-and-file.

John Schervish, progressive president of IBEW Local 2300 in Denver, told how he had been warned by the local AFL/CIA officials not to appear on the panel, as we had a secret agenda and he was "legitimizing" our conference by his appearance. (No secret agenda, fellas. We aim to put you "leaders" back on the production line where you'll be useful.) John appeared and said he enjoyed the conference. That's called "cajones" down south.

Jan Belle, local community organizer and fellow Wobbly, and Cathy Howell both spoke about the need to expand the labor movement to a "social" movement and how much community support can help labor. Due to a lack of time, not enough was said about how labor can help the community, e.g., the unemployed and the homeless.

Jim Guyette, president of Local P-9, Austin, Minnesota, was the last to speak. His portrayal of the Hormel strike clarified in glowing terms the need for R & F control of labor unions. Jim was in town to build a demonstration on May 10 here in Denver at International Paper's annual stockholders' meeting in support of the locked-out workers in Maine, Wisconsin, Alabama, and Pennsylvania. As always, Jim understands the need for solidarity. We'll be there.

Don Fitz, of Workers' Democracy in St. Louis, asked panel members many pointed questions and added considerable clarity to the afternoon's discussions.

Art Nurse, 87, from Missoula, Montana, who joined the I.W.W. in 1918 and signed up Fred Thompson in 1922 in California, spent the entire weekend with us. He gave our conference depth and continuity. He lived through and was part of most of the struggles we discussed. This May 1 was for Art and all his kind. We owe them for all the gains we workers have made the past 100 years. Happy May Day, Art.

The quality of the conference was outstanding, but the turn-out was a disappointment. We had 30-50 people at each event, but we expected three times that number. Maybe this was, in part, due to the first beautiful weekend following a long, dreary winter—Coloradans are sun worshippers—or maybe we have much to learn about promotion. Anyway, let's do it again in '89.

Our thanks to FW Pat Moore for putting this conference together, to the University of Colorado-Denver for funding the program, and a special thanks to Mike Konopacki and Gary Huck, who sent 39 original cartoons to display at the conference.

Gary Cox



JOBS FOR JUSTICE IN GEORGIA

Labor conditions in Georgia have never been the durable fabric of a militant worker's dreams but lately the apathy and disarray in "organized labor" has caused some concerned rank-and-file members to want to do something about it. These dedicated unionists are pursuing the almost unheard of course of reaching across trade union boundaries and jurisdictions of the American Separation of Labor to build a coalition for solidarity and change. These folks are in earnest and the instrument for change they've chosen is a Jobs for Justice rally and march on Saturday, April 30. Numerous Locals of different unions and community groups have endorsed the march and the turnout will probably be several thousand. The rally and march will coincide with a SCLC walk from Memphis, Tenn. to Atlanta with the pilgrims arriving in Atlanta on that Saturday afternoon.

Fellow Workers, we have seen a multitude of outraged and committed people pound the pavements in various lights and weathers but economics and social justice still eludes us. It will be no different for these trade unionists in Atlanta who perceive that something is amiss with their own organizations and American

labor in general. For they operate under a profound handicap, believing, like the Protestant ancestors of old, that a mass revival with pagentry and speeches will bring the strayed members back to the faith and rejuvenate their own. For a day certainly, and perhaps for even a week a militant feeling of solidarity might pervade the homes and Locals here. But April 30 will pass and no organization will likely result from the energies of the organizers of the event and the participants themselves. The legacy of Gompers and a host of similar piecards is too great to be overcome by several days in April and the few who tried.

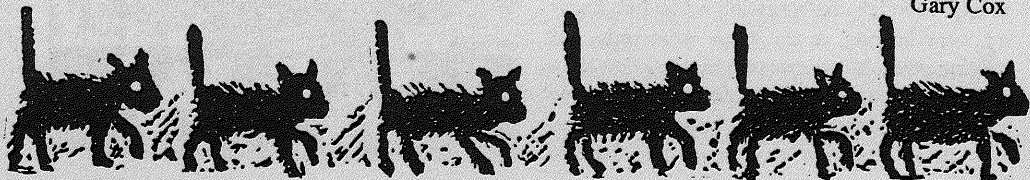
Yet something new is in the air, some of these trade unionists are hungering for direct democracy in choosing their own union officials and are wondering why their time contracts have arbitrarily decided dates of expiration, even for Locals in the same union. That magic and forbidden phrase has been uttered, and not just by this worker or other IWW members: ONE BIG UNION! A small candle of industrial unionism is feebly burning here; perhaps with our efforts, we can prevent the hot air from the descending piecards and labor fakers on April 30 from blowing it out.

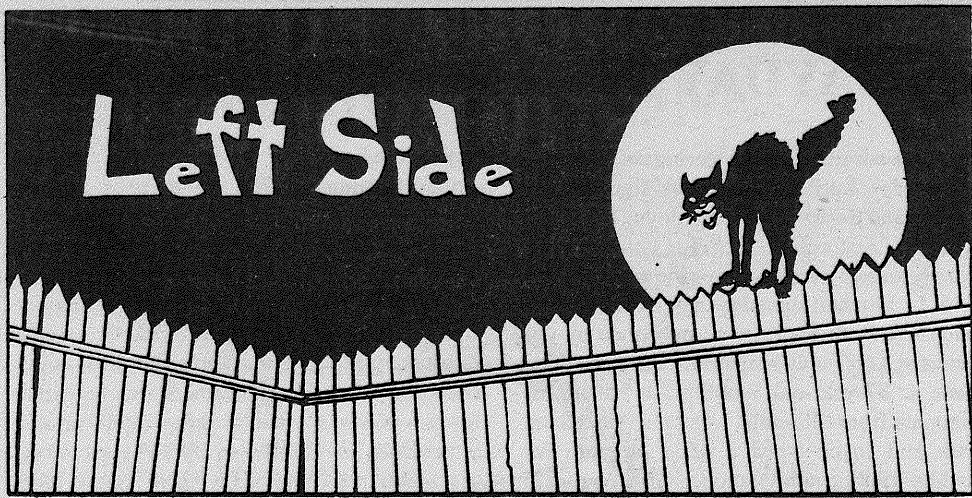
Phillip Harris

(First of a 2-part Report)

ied this phenomenon. This was followed by a discussion of the Colorado cooperative movement. The general consensus was that while cops can provide a more humane living and a self-empowering experience for many people, they will have little impact on the power of the multinationals and will be controlled by the capitalist market economy.

In the afternoon H.L. Mitchell, from Montgomery, Alabama, showed his film on the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, "Our Land Too." After the movie, he answered questions about building a multiracial labor union and the debilitating effects of racism on the U.S. labor movement. When asked how his organizers were chosen, he responded, "We were all organizers." He added, "If all members are respected as equals, there is no problem in building multiracial unions. When white workers and black workers feel their oppression equally, solidarity becomes





Those of you gentle readers who do not live in the fair metropolis from whence this stalwart little publication emanates may or may not have heard of the recent flap in our beloved Chicago this past month. Some young art student at the School of the Art Institute painted a portrait of the late Mayor Washington dressed in brassiere and panties. During his lifetime Mayor Washington was the recipient of the merciless barbs of the political cartoonists as is the lot of any person who attains high political office. However with the exception of some few notorious examples, once a political functionary has crossed the mortal coil, a certain etiquette decrees that no more depreciatory barbs be heaped upon said person.

This painting was hanging on the wall of the School of the Art Institute when it was reported to the aldermen at City Hall. A delegation of aldermen, mostly Black, converged upon the school demanding that the picture be taken down as it was a besmirch upon the memory of Chicago's first Black mayor. They first demanded to see the artist but the artist found it expedient to be nowhere in sight. Had the artist been there to face the irate City Fathers, perhaps the incident may have resolved itself differently. However one of the aldermen strode to where the offending painting was hanging and removed it from the wall.

It was at this juncture that members of the police department who happened to be there decided it was best to impound the painting. The whole flap was aired on the idiot box and provided copy for a couple of days.

The other art students protested the action as censorship, the ensuing confrontation being likewise aired on the tube. The administration of the School of the Art Institute said they supported the freedom of "artistic expression" on the part of their students and therefore had not offered any criticism toward the painting in question. Further verbiage on the part of the administrators left one with the impression that they were indeed above petty partisan politics.

The School of the Art Institute's professed concern over the freedom of expression on the part of their students leaves a funny taste in the mouth of your humble scribe, especially in light of past observations. He recalls a young colleague of his some years back who was a student there at the time. Being the son of a factory stiff, he had done a very dramatic graphic of a factory worker which had upset the instructors to no end. This does not seem so odd when it is known that there are many excellent works in the Institute's collection by such artists as Kathe Kollwitz, George Grosz, William Gropper, Diego Rivera, Posada, Orozco and Siqueiros to name but a few that stay mostly in storage and are seldom if ever displayed in the galleries of that august institution.

Your scribe also remembers a couple of summers back where there was an anti-Central American War rally at the band shell in the park nearby the Art Institute and a group of local artists decided first to gather on the steps of the Art Institute. Along with our banners and placards we were endeavoring to inform the passing public as well as those who were coming into the Art Institute that we as creative artists were opposed to the destruction that was going on in Central America and at the same time inviting like-minded people to join us to go to the main rally.

We soon knew the Institute's feeling towards our freedom of expression when one of the workers of the Institute who identified himself as a student there told us we could not demonstrate on the steps of the Art Institute. Not desiring to detract from the principal rally with an unproductive confrontation we let him know we were leaving as the steps were only our rallying point, but we wanted him to know why we as creative artists were demonstrating. He insisted that he was likewise a creative artist and every bit as "sensitive" as we were but we had to

get off the steps. As to his professed sensitivity, several of us asked him how come he wasn't joining us.

The irony of the confrontation over the Mayor's uncomplimentary portrait is that the artist who painted the picture probably has no type of convictions whatsoever, or he would have made it a point to see those indignant aldermen and explain his position. Knowing the tenor of the Chicago Art Institute and the material that gets prominence there, not to mention the overall attitude of the "art establishment", this young artist most likely had no other motivation behind his uncomplimentary depiction than shock value. Shock value is what has been loosening the purse strings of many affluent "art lovers" of recent years.

As one who believes in the freedom of expression, especially artistic expression, your scribe says yes, express yourself any damn way you feel like expressing yourself but be willing to face up to any flack that your expression may engender. After all that's exactly what the soap-boxers of old did when they talked to a crowd of brain-washed scissor bills.

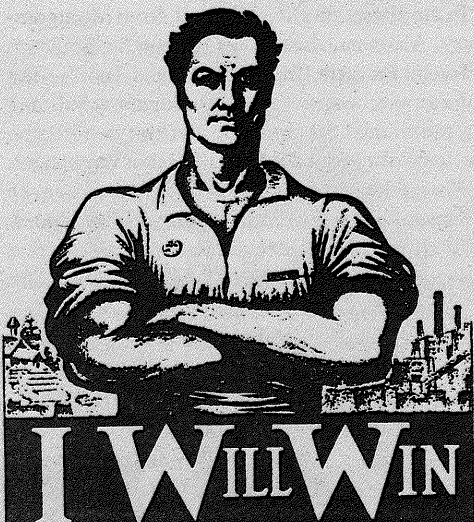
Such is the irony when one has the affluence and leisure to attend an institute of advanced learning that does not take into consideration the lives and attitudes of those not as fortunate. One can cynically conjecture that the coincidental presence of the television cameras at the indignant alderpersons' confrontation with the art school authorities came about not solely as a result of righteous indignation, but perhaps also because of a little grandstanding to the constituents.

The media referred to the incident as another one of Chicago's unfortunate racial confrontations but one has to bear in mind it is also a class confrontation. Of course, race and class confrontations are nothing new in Chicago or the breadth of Freedomland for that matter.

If we leave it up to certain members of our society, the dark ages may soon be back with us. Instead of revamping the automobile industry to make cars that will no longer produce nitrogen dioxide, better known as smog, catalytic converters are added and we are supposed to agree to an "acceptable" level of pollution. This, according to Barry Commoner, represents a return to the medieval approach to disease in which illness and death itself were looked upon as a debit on life endured as payment for original sin. Divine punishment is being equated with the unhealthy consequences of pollution wherein the latter is to be regarded as a just payment for the benefits of modern technology.

Some of these economic manipulators who are doing their damndest to push us back into another century makes one wish we could get pushed back into the Stone Age when there was no pollution nor theologians. Your scribe recently had a lung surgery and as a consequence has quit tobacco. Despite the recurring nostalgia to light up between paragraphs, it was not an insurmountable feat. Now if I could only go cold turkey on carbon monoxide, nitrogen dioxide and all those goodies, I wouldn't feel so bad about my liking for bourbon and tequila.

C. C. Redcloud



Homeless...

(continued from page 1)

ters), the homeless have come up with their own solution: Organize!

Thus, the formation of the National Union of the Homeless is unquestionably a major step forward not only in the struggle of the homeless but in the general struggle for human emancipation as well. Founded in 1985, the union lays claim to approximately 20,000 members and has a national headquarters in Philadelphia as well as fifteen locals in major cities throughout the U.S.. Its members travel around the country organizing in shelters and welfare hotels spreading the word of homeless unionism. Through a program of education, organization, and direct action, the NUH is enabling the homeless to fight for themselves. And although the press is playing down the importance of the union, its presence is clearly being felt.

In fact, the national media's conspicuous silence on the NUH's activities, and those of other organized groups of homeless, only confirms the impact they are making. The government and the media clearly recognize the revolutionary potential of such an organization. The publicity generated by the direct action tactics of the NUH not only reveals the government's utter lack of regard for human lives, but more importantly it destroys the cherished illusion that government is necessary by showing that people are quite capable of co-operation and self-management.

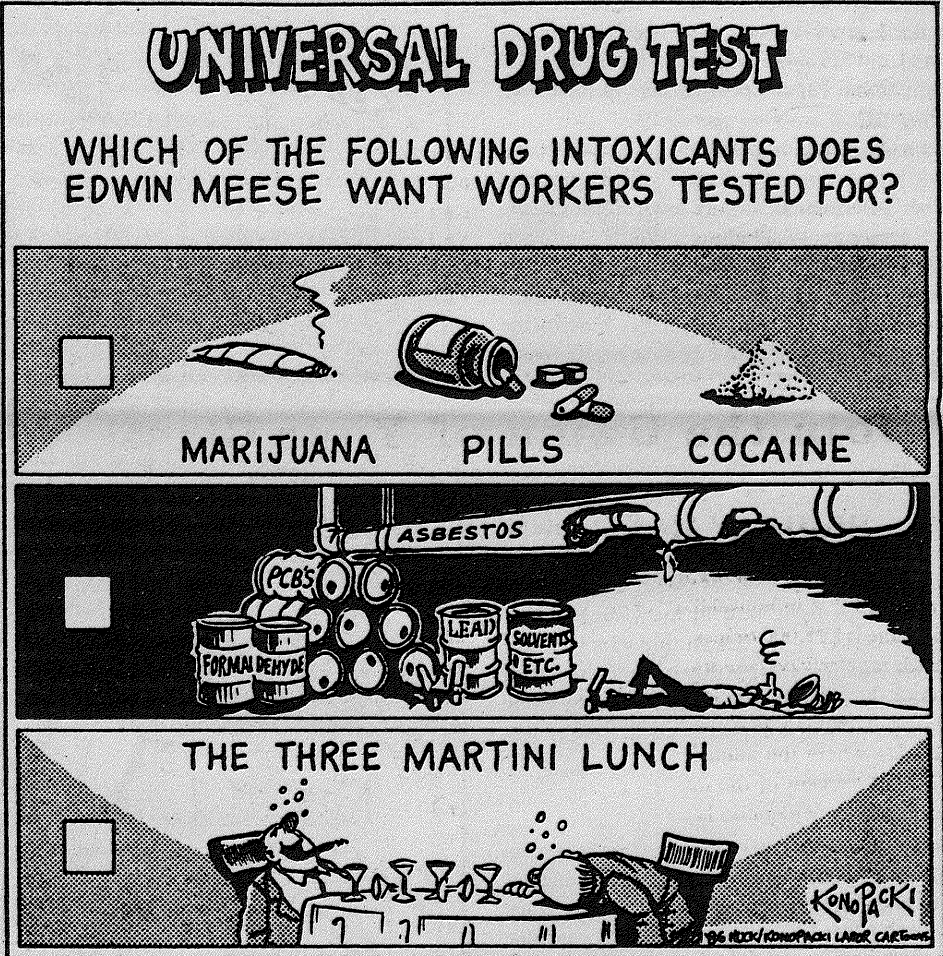
Thus, it is not at all surprising that the media has responded with outright lies, carefully filtered information, and absolute silence. Nor is it surprising that the government has responded with

the strong arm of the law. Not only have the police quickly been called in to remove squatters, but homeless organizers have been threatened and beaten by shelter guards and organized groups of homeless have been split up by shelter officials and sent to separate city facilities.

Sound familiar? Only a Mr. Block could fail to see the similarities between the revolutionary unionism of the I.W.W. and that of the NUH and the similar treatment both organizations have received in the hands of the government and the media. Unemployed vs. employed, prisoners vs. non-prisoners, homeless vs. non-homeless—these false contradictions are created by the employing class and disseminated through the corporate-controlled media for the sole purpose of keeping the working class immobilized and divided. Fellow workers, at any moment we are all potentially unemployed (the employing class owns the means of production), potential prisoners (the employing class created the penal system in order to control us), and potentially homeless (the employing class owns the land on which we live).

An injury to one is an injury to all. As the exploited class, we must all—workers, homeless, prisoners, unemployed—come together. As Chris Sprowal, founder and president of the National Union of the Homeless, put it: "There isn't, and never was, any piece of the pie for us. We won't settle anymore for just the crumbs. We're talking about a whole restructuring of society."

Dave Wells



History of the Labor Movement in Louisiana
(but dedicated to labor fakers everywhere)

Aflcio, Aflcio, Aflcio!	in Louisiana better than any boss could have hoped to do.	Aflcio, Aflcio, Aflcio!
You didn't really kill the BTW, but you read its obituary with a twinkle in your eye.	Aflcio, Aflcio, Aflcio!	So smug, so exclusionary, so impotent, so useless!
Aflcio, Aflcio, Aflcio!	You broke the spirit of the working class. Fool! That spirit was even your own lifeblood.	Aflcio, Aflcio, Aflcio!
After the BTW was crushed, you showed the bosses what good boys you were by dowsing industrial unionism whenever it returned to Louisiana.	Aflcio, Aflcio, Aflcio!	Go to hell! The IWW is once again among the workers of Louisiana. For now, our numbers are small, but unlike you, we are determined to organize for a better Louisiana. For a better world.
Aflcio, Aflcio, Aflcio!	Oh, these many years that you have stood in the bosses' pockets, but scabs are discarded after their usefulness	Ben E. Trant Shreveport, Louisiana May Day 1988
You destroyed the labor movement		

CIVIL RESISTANCE SPREADS!

"Mothers and Others Connecting All" protests, organized completely by women, occurred at four nuclear-bomb related facilities and 18 cities nationally on Mother's Day, May 8. In addition, there were demonstrations in West Berlin, Calcutta, Helsinki, Hiroshima, Biedertal (France), Bolzano (Italy), and Brugg (Switzerland). Eighty percent of the participants were women.

At the Nevada Test Site, 325 civil resisters passed through a London Bridge-style "birth canal" that stretched for a city block and delivered them into the handcuffs of arresting officers. A thousand demonstrated at the adjacent rally which included women speakers from South Africa (on apartheid), El Salvador (on U.S. intervention and death squads), and indigenous North American Tribes (on Native-American rights).

At Clam Lake, Wisconsin, 150 people (three arrests) protested an extremely low frequency (ELF) one-day naval communications system to signal Trident subs to start World War III.

One hundred demonstrated at the Cape Canaveral first-strike missile launch pad. Five women hiked 9 miles into the Air Force base and were still being held the day following their arrest.

Two hundred rallied at the Seneca, New York Army depot which ships the cruise missile, and 75 picketed respectively at Pantex, the last-phase assembly plant for nuclear bombs (Amarillo, Texas), and at the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Ironically, only a few days before high noon, half of the solid missile fuel production facilities for the entire United States nuclear arsenal exploded, a few miles outside of Las Vegas, Nevada. In a 1982 study, a union investigator concluded: "I cannot understand how this plant has not blown off the face of the earth." Two hundred fellow workers were injured, one was killed and one was missing.

At the University of Colorado (Boulder), student protesters—including Wobbly Mike Mehaffey—at three anti-apartheid demonstrations this spring faced possible probations, suspensions and expulsion as a result of their ac-

tions. Several non-student participants were completely banned from the campus; but when the American Civil Liberties Union threatened to file suit, the ban was temporarily lifted, pending the outcome of a hearing with the campus administration. Those banned—among them Wobs Joel Lewis and Dennis Soper, only plan on attending this hearing if it is open to the public. Otherwise, they will defy the ban if it is reinstated.

On April 24, ten years to the day after large civil resistance actions took place at the Rocky Flats nuclear bomb factory outside of Boulder, the famous "Truthforce" (translation of Ghandi's "Satyagraha") was resurrected. A group of fifty did the "Hokey-Pokey" on the plant's railroad tracks where X337036 relaxed in a tent on top of same. He and five others were arrested for federal trespass, but a legal defense based on the right to petition an outlaw government is planned. Scores of other Rocky Flats civil resisters have been jamming local courts in recent weeks and free legal support is being provided by the National Lawyer's Guild.

On May 10th, hundreds of locked out and striking International Paper workers from all over the U.S. were welcomed by a delegation of Denver-Boulder Wobblies outside of the Westin Hotel in downtown Denver. Shouts of "They say 'Give Back', we say FIGHT BACK" echoed in the streets. Upstairs at the stockholders' meeting, Wobbly Gary Cox nonchalantly walked past a swarm of cops—in suits and ties as well as in riot gear—and observed as workers took over the agenda.

I.P. has been attempting to use force to break the solidarity of our fellow workers, most of whom remain, to their misfortune, members of the AFL-CIO only. That may soon change however. Dozens of copies of the Industrial Worker were snapped up by the throng, not to mention by members of the Dallas Mavericks basketball team who happened to be staying at the hotel. We hope I.P. gets the message: Stop crushing workers and their families, or the workers will stuff you through the hoop!

X337036

Join the Union of Your Class!

HIGH PAY MAKES FOR HELPFUL HUBBIES

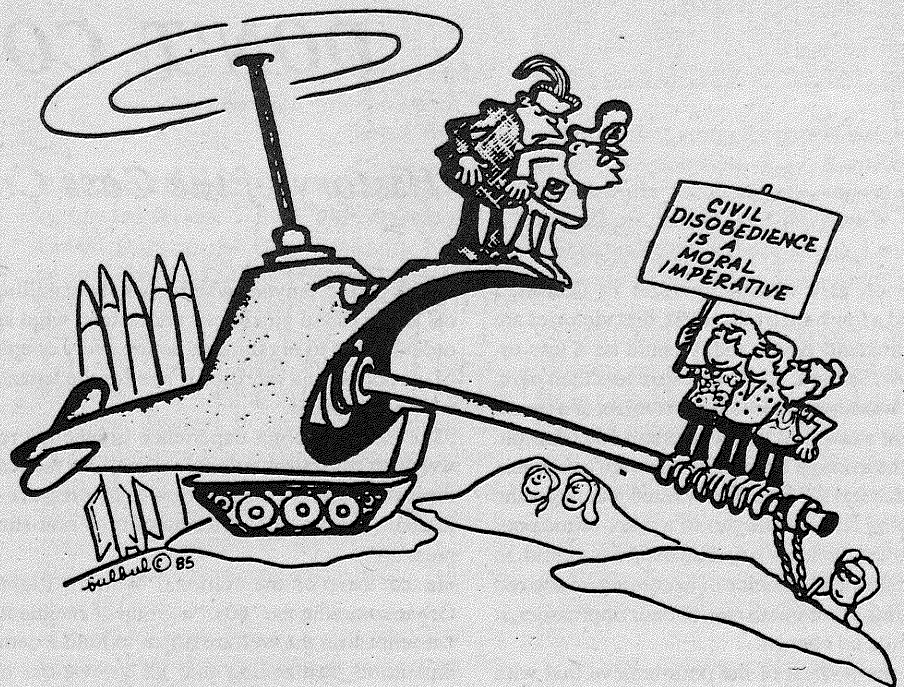
This spring a survey in *Working Mother* magazine revealed that in households where the annual income is \$25,000 or less, 10 percent of the husbands regularly do laundry, 11 percent regularly cook dinner, 8.6 percent regularly clean up after dinner and 14 percent vacuum. But in households where the annual income exceeds \$50,000, 21 percent of the husbands regularly cook dinner, 18 percent do laundry, 23 percent clean up after dinner and 23 percent vacuum. But regardless of income, 95 percent of those surveyed came from two-income households.

One doubts that the reason upper-income men are more helpful around the house is due to the fact that they are more enlightened about mutual responsibility when it comes to the matter of domestic affairs. The reason is that in these two-income households the wife is bringing in a hefty

enough paycheck to buy some domestic leverage. One of the things about this lousy society is that money buys worth, and the more money a woman earns, the more household drudgery her husband shall be willing to assume. Thus, the woman earning \$22,000 a year at her 40-hour-per-week job is probably getting more help at home than a woman earning \$10,000 a year at her 40-hour-per-week job. No matter that forty hours is forty hours.

In a society that places value upon its citizens according to their income, it is inevitable that a husband who makes substantially more money than his wife will expect that she contribute her share in "sweat equity." Thus, a woman's low position in the job market reinforces her unequal position at home.

Penny Pixler



JOE HILL'S ASHES DISCOVERED!

As we go to press, National Headquarters has learned that a small envelope has been discovered in the National Archives at Washington D.C. which may possibly contain the last of the cremated remains of the martyred Wobbly songwriter, cartoonist and organizer Joe Hill. The envelope, addressed to Charles Gepford of Chicago and dated October 8, 1917, has a picture of Hill affixed to its cover with the caption: "Joe Hill—Murdered by the Capitalist Class, Nov. 19, 1915." The envelope is torn in one corner, but contains about a tablespoon of ashes.

According to an article in the April issue of the U.A.W.'s *Solidarity* magazine, there are documents in the same file which indicate that the envelope was seized by the postmaster in Chicago under the Espionage act of World War 1, then forwarded to W. H. Lamar, solicitor of the Post Office Department. In a subsequent letter dated October 13, 1918, and sent to A. B. Biclasky, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation (the forerunner of the F.B.I.), Lamar wrote that the envelope containing the ashes was "accidentally mutilated" and "the contents were expelled and their nature unavoidably disclosed." He eventually gave the ashes over to the bureau. No other correspondence related to the seizure of the envelope has been discovered.

Known throughout the world as the author of such labor classics as "The Preacher and the Slave," "Rebel Girl," and "Casey Jones," Hill was instrumental in several successful IWW strikes in the state of Utah in the years 1913-1914. His popularity among the striking construction workers in Bingham, Tucker and Salt Lake City—many of them, like Hill, Swedish immigrants—did not go unnoticed by the local bosses and politicians, who are generally held to have framed him for the shooting of an ex-cop turned grocer named

John Morrison on January 10, 1914.

After his execution in the prison yard of the Utah State Penitentiary Hill's body was shipped to Chicago where—in compliance with the terms outlined in his will—it was cremated, and the ashes were distributed by fellow workers all around the globe and in every state on May Day, 1916 with one exception: In a letter to Bill Haywood written shortly before his execution Hill stated: "I don't want to be found dead in Utah."

And so we consider it the bitterest of ironies that he should instead be found dead among yellowing Bureau of Investigation files in Washington D.C.. So far as Headquarters has been able to determine (through contact with Nation Archive officials), the envelope containing the ashes was only one among several others sent out to Fellow Workers for the express purpose of fulfilling the terms of Joe Hill's last will: "My body? Ah! If I could choose, I would to ashes it reduce, And let the merry breezes blow, My dust to where some flowers grow."

The editors of *Solidarity* have urged their readers to send letters offering suggestions as to what shall be done with Joe Hill's ashes. General Secretary-Treasurer Paul Poulos and the General Executive Board are challenging both the UAW's and *Solidarity's* right to assume trusteeship over our martyred fellow worker's remains, and are presently looking into possible courses of action. Meantime, all Wobs and subscribers to *Industrial Worker* are encouraged to write to the *Solidarity* editorial offices and express their disapproval over *Solidarity's* behavior in this matter, particularly for never so much as even attempting to notify the IWW before proceeding to publicize the discovery. Address your letters to *Solidarity's* Editorial Office, 8000 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan 48214.

We Never Forget!

Colombian Unionists Killed

On March 3 of this year, workers of the Envigado branch of the Renault auto plant in Colombia declared a hunger strike as a protest against the firing of 40 workers. Reportedly, on March 8, some 30 police invaded a hunger strikers' meeting and threatened to shoot them if they did not leave. At this time the police asked the company's goon for the names, ID numbers and home addresses of the strike leaders. The next day graffiti appeared on a factory wall threatening to kill all the "guerilla trade union leaders." Workers from the four Renault plants in the town declared an indefinite strike asking for guarantees for the security of union leadership. On May 5, Juan Diego Arango Morales, leader of the local branch of the carworkers' union SOFASA, was shot and killed.

Amnesty International has also gotten reports that Matias Barraza, treasurer of the Small Farmers Union, was shot dead on April 24; Her-

nando Colon Hernandez and Rafael Duque Perez, activists in the teachers union, were killed on April 27; and Ovidio Bemudez, leader of the Social Security Workers Union in Cauca, was shot on May 2.

NEW GROUP FORMED!

In response to a request by students of the Virginia Commonwealth University, FW Ed Jahn spoke to student anarchists, animal rights activists and Earth First!ers at a campus May Day Celebration under the sponsorship of the "Coalition for Student Awareness" on May 1st. He distributed a large amount of IWW literature at the event and reports that as a result, a new IWW group has been formed in Richmond! For the time being, the group will be working closely with the Baltimore Branch, but FW Jahn anticipates the formation of a Richmond Branch within a year or so!



COURTROOM JUSTICE FOR TENANTS?

DON'T COUNT ON IT!

A History of the Cass Corridor Tenants' Association

Early on as a tenant organizer in Detroit, I learned a few hard truths. First, that victories are impermanent. A win today could be a loss tomorrow. Second, all victories are less than pure. There was always some compromise, or a tenant who got a raw deal that would soil any triumph. Last, the average tenant did not want to become a Sandinista! All he or she wanted was to get the plumbing fixed. Thoughts of a mass-based poor people's movement never crossed their mind. In fact, if they had a choice of becoming an activist or trading places with one of their oppressors, it would be no contest.

Even the poorest of the poor believe that with hard work and a little luck, they can make a lot of money and live happily ever after; and if it doesn't happen, it's their own fault. A change in consciousness must occur. The system must lose its legitimacy. People must come to see that the system is at fault, not the individual. People who ordinarily consider themselves helpless must come to believe that they have some capacity to alter their lot. On a small scale these conditions for protest existed in the Cass Corridor in Detroit and for a time people came together to do just that.

FIRST BLOOD

In late December of 1985 Cora Martin was murdered by the drunken building manager of 118 Davenport; shot five times as she fled up the stairs toward her apartment. She was the only tenant in the building who had been willing to fight the landlord. Just before her death, she had successfully sued the landlord, Tony Summers, for no heat. Her murder was a senseless act of violence. A coincidence?

Soon after Cora's murder, tenants at 145 Temple suffering from no heat or hot water for two months banded together and sued Summers under the lock-out law. Heat and hot water were restored, repairs were made, and each tenant received a \$100 rent abatement.

Word got around. Soon tenants in all of Summer's buildings had heard about 145 Temple and Cora Martin. They wanted to do something about conditions in their buildings and were willing to come together and protest. Tenants and community supporters held the first of many pickets in front of Tony Summer's office at 92 Peterboro. It was the coldest day of the year! The event attracted significant coverage by the media which resulted in Summers sitting down to negotiate with the newly formed Cass Corridor Tenants' Association.

At first, the meeting appeared to be a great success. Tenants from all his buildings attended. Men and women, previously afraid to utter a word in front of Summers yelled back at him when he made threatening remarks. Tenants did not allow themselves to be intimidated. As a result of this meeting a letter of agreement was signed by Summers and tenant leaders. The agreement stipulated that repairs would be done in a timely fashion, and tenants would be treated in a just and humane manner. The tenants, with guarded optimism, were proud of what they had achieved. A week later Summers' lawyer sent the tenants a letter stating that Summers had acted under extreme pressure and without benefit of an attorney. They were calling the agreement null and void.

In the months that followed the CCTA picketed Summers' office in Detroit as well as his home and the homes of his business associates in upscale suburbs. After six months of intensive protest coupled with tenant-initiated pressure by the city for Code violations, Summers filed for Chapter 11 (reorganization) Bankruptcy. Soon a Trustee was appointed and a new phase in the Summers campaign began.

During the first six months of struggle, Association members came and went. Although more than 10 or 20 percent of the available tenants never participated at any given time it was always a vocal minority. With one or two exceptions, the activists of November were no longer there the next August. Some were dead, one was institutionalized, others gave up and moved away. Attempting to maintain a continuity of leadership was extremely difficult.

One or two pickets a month occurred over a six

month period. Anyone who knows about pulling off a successful picket can understand what an ordeal it was to organize an action every couple of weeks; what a sacrifice it was for the tenants who participated.

The CCTA did not experience immediate rewards from confrontational tactics. Our tactical formula "pickets + legal action + city pressure + media" worked only after months of non-stop pressure.

In the case of the National Welfare Rights Organization in the '60s, "a group of recipients descended on the welfare office to hold a demonstration, demanding that all grievances be settled before the group left, with the threat that a sit-in would follow if the demands were not met." The tactic usually worked—not after months, but on the spot, because they had something that we did not: the image of burning ghettos looming heavily in the minds of their targets. The CCTA had no such parallel to work for them. What was a group of 50 tenants really capable of? Summers called our bluff and for a while it worked to his advantage.

When Summers finally ended up in bankruptcy, and the Trustee was eventually appointed and expressed an interest to meet with the tenants, we all jumped at the opportunity! We were tired, and our ranks were dwindling. Here, finally, we thought, was a real opportunity to change the status quo.



'86 HUCK/KONOPACKI CARTOONS
THE IUE NEWS
KEN PACKI

The first few times we met with the Trustee it appeared as if change was indeed about to occur. After evidence was presented, by tenants, of the current building managers' actions the Trustee agreed to fire the old managers and replace them with tenants who had participated in the CCTA. Reasonable salaries would be paid and job protections signed for in a contract. Once the contract was drafted the Trustee danced around, looking for reasons to avoid signing it. There was always some item that wasn't right.

Our allies, the lawyers, and our enemies, the lawyers, convinced us that only through a dialogue (however phony) with the Trustee could we prove to the Bankruptcy court that more changes in control of the property were needed.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE OPPRESSOR AND THE OPPRESSED

It wasn't until too late that we realized we had strayed "into an impossible dialogue with the dominant elites." Friere maintains that such a dialogue always "ends up being manipulated by these elites, and not infrequently the dialogue falls into an elitist game."

In at least one significant way, we fell into the trap of the oppressor; we put all our eggs in the basket of one person. When that person eventually decided to steal the eggs, we were left with nothing. We erred also by allowing a few tenant leaders to not only speak for the group, but to "act" for the group as well.

The Trustee perceived that to control key individuals was to control everyone. His aim was to reduce the militancy of the tenants' organization (stop the picket) and to gain converts from the ranks of the tenants. So what did he do? He asked us to invest our energies in bi-weekly negotiating sessions. It was during these sessions that the Trustee first identified those he thought he could recruit, and then later, initiated a plan which resulted not only in the disintegration of the negotiating sessions but in the tenants' association as well.

As both a participator and a spectator in this drama, I was ultimately perplexed by the ease with which the Trustee was able to pass himself off as a good guy, and secondly, how an intelligent and politically sophisticated individual, our tenant, could so blindly and self-righteously change hats so quickly.

THE OPPRESSOR

From the very beginning, the Trustee barraged us with rhetoric about how he wanted to fix up the buildings and help the tenants. Sure, he was making \$2100 a week, but he was worth it. He assured all the parties that we were all going to work and make decisions together. He believed there was a difference between himself and the slumlord, Tony Summers. He earned his money. Summers stole his. The Trustee refused to acknowledge that he was an opportunist taking

failed to achieve a significant and lasting participation in the tenant organization. Our experience was the same as the NWROs. Once a tenant got their individual problem solved, they dropped out because they no longer needed assistance.

Our weakness as organizers was in valuing expediency over what Friere calls "dialogical education." One cannot expect to coerce tenants to participate in a picket action and then expect them to become loyal members of the tenant organization. What we did was implement a "banking style of education" on many of the tenants. We made deposits in them with our propaganda and then expected them to become soldiers in our army. To some extent, by using both coercion and the banking style of education, we manipulated tenants in order to fulfill our own need to punish the slumlord. After a while we had to ask ourselves on whose behalf were we waging this war against Tony Summers.

Happily we did not as a general rule have expediency as our guiding principle. Usually, we were able to engage in a dialogical education with tenants, whereby problem solving techniques were accomplished in a democratic fashion, and deep friendships resulted. For this reason alone, the struggle against Summers, as small as it presently is, continues to this day.

There was a time however, when we forgot who and what the people are—not objects to be used for our own personal revolution, but rather friends and fellow conspirators in a struggle for a better world.

If tenants want real power over their lives they need to abandon the legal system as a tool for gaining economic justice. After three years of hanging around courtrooms, I have seen precious little economic justice. Justice for the poor usually results only if the rich (the Landlord) are grossly unprepared (this usually happens only once) or if the landlord's guilt is so obvious that the Judge simply can't ignore the evidence. These are the rare exceptions, however! Even when the tenant wins, they eventually lose because they almost always have to go back to live in the building owned by the same shitty landlord.

The alternative? Tenant Control!
Tenant Ownership!

However, tenant ownership does not guarantee that conditions will naturally improve. Unless the tenants have learned through their struggles to value unity, cooperation, respect for each others dignity, and a reverence for democratic decision making, tenant ownership will be no different than that of the slumlord they ousted. Tenants must identify who their oppressors are so that they don't later become oppressors themselves; for power, in and of itself, is meaningless without a change in consciousness.

How will tenant control come about? Not through the legal system. Nor by tenants saving their money to make a purchase. The tenants will have to take it by force!

Tenants have to be willing to disrupt the system long enough so that significant concessions are granted. The only way that poor people have ever gotten anything significant from the government or the elites is through direct action. Anything short of this will not work! The rich have to feel the way that Joe Kennedy felt in the '30s: "Better to give the angry masses half of what we own today, than all of it tomorrow." As long as they think they can co-opt our leaders, submerge us in false dialogues, tie us up in courtrooms or keep us marching in relatively harmless pickets, the rich will never give the poor anything. The government and the rich must feel like their lives depend on how generous they can be.

I don't mean to simplify the task of generating the kind of mass unrest which would be necessary to pull off the above scenario. Mass unrest and protest by the poor are rare occurrences. But they do happen, and when they do, anything is possible. In fact, getting ownership of a few buildings would be a modest scenario.

My point is that organizers with the poor (who claim to be more than just do-gooder liberal humanists) must realize that asking the indigent

(continued on page 10)

advantage of a system which allowed him to be a parasite.

The goal of the bankruptcy proceedings was to pay off the creditors and preserve the estate. But this was a distant secondary goal for the Trustee whose primary aim was to make as much from the Summers estate as he could suck out at a rate of \$2100 a week. How many other sweet little deals like this, one wonders, does he have going?

THE OPPRESSED

How does a person come to betray his friends and himself? There is a street saying: "money talks, bullshit walks."

A person who thinks, because of the hard road he's had to tread, that he possesses the truest understanding of how the world works is a self-righteous person. Since it suits his new position as "boss man" he now sees the solution to slumlords and poor housing not in solidarity with other tenants but in better business management. Unlike his fellow tenants, it was not a change in how the system works that he was fighting for, but rather a change in who holds the power. For a fleeting moment in history "he possesses" power. That which the Trustee sees fit to give him.

We thought that by demanding affiliation from tenants in return for our help, we would increase participation in the tenant organization. Despite this tactic working in the short run by getting 40 or 50 tenants on the picket line, the strategy

DEMOLISHED BY NEGLECT

Urban Political Art in Detroit

Detroit city government and a photographers' group are at odds over a photo project which has put the political issues of abandonment of this city on the walls of downtown and the pages of several local publications.

The photographers' group took pictures of people and places in Detroit and made 3 foot by 4 foot enlargements of the results. Working mostly at night the artists then reintroduced these images into the urban environment installing scores of oversized photos on boarded-up buildings in and near downtown. Next to the images was painted the project name: DEMOLISHED BY NEGLECT. The completed installations were photographed and left to the street environment.

The photographers, mostly native Detroiters, are members of the two year old, fifty plus member, Urban Center for Photography (UCP). Group projects include: opening downtown exhibit space (nearly unheard of until recently), and printing and archiving 2,000 old photos from glass negatives in the files of the *Detroit News*.

NEWS FROM THE HOME FRONT:

11TH HOUR, \$10 per year from *Ann Arbor Tenants' Union* (4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109, 313-936-3076)

SHELTERFORCE, \$15 per year from *National Housing Institute* (439 Main, Orange, New Jersey 07050, 201-678-3110)

Tenants' organizations of various kinds exist in most major cities in the US and Canada. These groups vary greatly in their politics. Most provide some kind of services which aid tenants in understanding and exercising their rights and power. Most offer advice or advocacy services intended to improve the day to day situation—get repairs made to a dwelling, keep a landlord from harassing women, prevent an eviction—of peoples lives. As such some tangible victories are achieved, some oppression relieved, and maybe the consciousness and will to struggle of some tenants is affected.

Many also organize tenants to exercise their power as a group in relation to particular landlord or neighborhood situations. Some don't do organizing due to restrictions from institutional or government funding sources; others have refused to accept such money and restrictions.

All must deal with (usually in an adversarial way) local (at least) government in relation to eviction proceedings and housing quality enforcement. Some run or endorse candidates for public office. In short, these organizations are the "emergency rooms" of tenants' housing concerns. They do what needs to be done in the short term to improve the housing situation of tenants who come to them. The staff and members of these organizations tend to learn quickly that (1) one by one advocacy or counselling bandages but does not solve the problems & (2) people's day to day housing problems demand deep radical changes in the system.

Two publications currently serve to tie these organizations together. Both are worthy of your attention and consideration and while this reviewer suggests subscribing to both, the differences between them are clear enough to offer a choice according to your interests.

Shelterforce is published bi-monthly by the National Housing Institute in Orange, New Jersey. This ten-year-old publication seeks to bring readers half news and analysis of tenants' organizing, and half alternative non-profit development issues. Heavy emphasis is placed on legislative reform.

11th Hour focuses on tenant organizing and is published quarterly by the Ann Arbor Tenants' Union (an IWW job shop). *11th Hour* is the newsletter of tenants' groups in the midwest. Each issue features news from tenants' groups throughout the country (with an emphasis on the midwest). The production collective has made a commitment to establish and maintain contact with groups throughout the region. There is an active effort to involve the readers in the publication through active solicitation of ideas, critiques and opinions through phone and mail-in surveys.

The photographers say the images deliver a positive message to viewers. "We can make positive decisions about our environment, we can intervene."

Coming around a corner or up a street, on foot or in a car, the Demolished by Neglect installations startle viewers. Boarded up streetfronts, implying that some positive hidden thing is happening, now display concealed decay as UCP photographers "bring what was hidden out in the open".

In the abandoned theater district the images of decayed interiors of once glorious movie palaces are posted in oversized, high contrast black and white on the outsides of the theaters. Images of homelessness are tacked on the boarded-up facade of a downtown hotel where 800 rooms still hold 800 beds, where the metal and wood barricades are pried open so that people with no place to stay may sometimes find shelter.

The name "DEMOLISHED BY NEGLECT" comes from a definition in the city building preservation ordinance. That law gives the city the power, unused, to take needed actions to preserve historically significant buildings that are being demolished by landlord neglect. City policies, by contrast, have followed a pattern of withdrawing services, encouraging deterioration, gaining ownership, bulldozing, and giving away the land to mega-developers. A recent "strategic plan" paid for, written and well-publicized by the corporate elite requests expansion of this urban slash and burn policy.

Art is not a mirror held up to reality, but a hammer with which to smash it.

—Bertolt Brecht

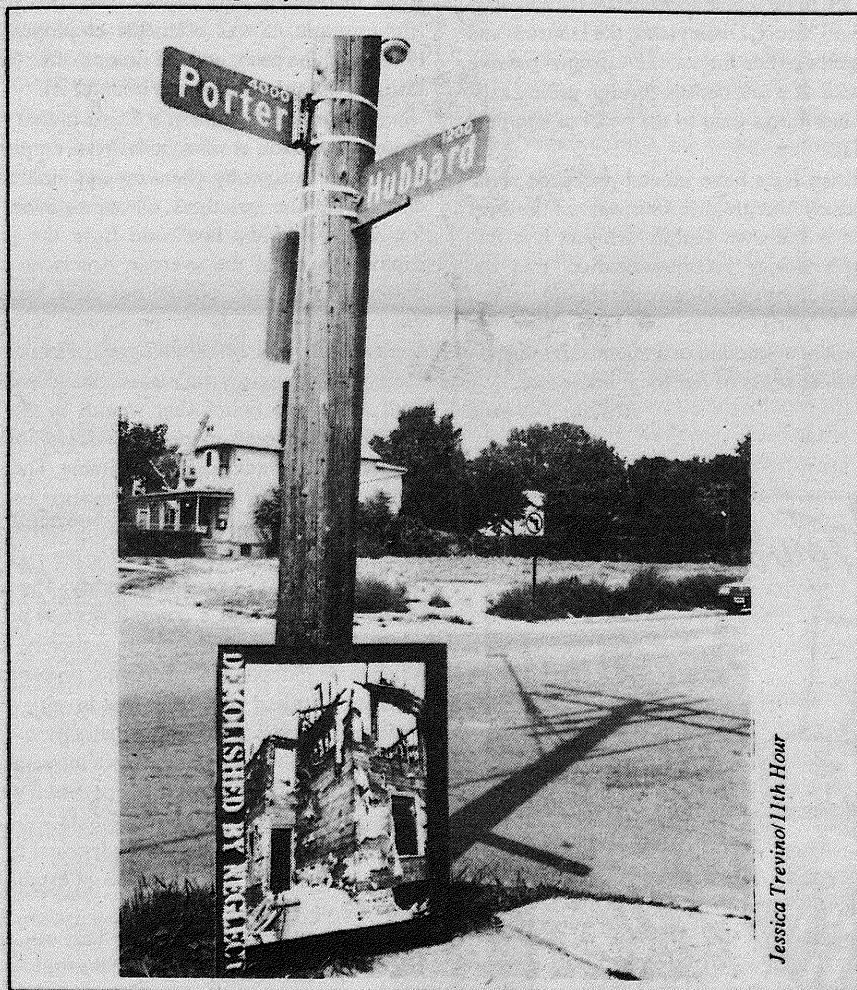
The Detroit Council of the Arts (DCA), a city agency answerable to the mayor, contributed a \$3,000 grant to the Demolished by Neglect project. Now the DCA and city legal department have threatened to "rescind" the grant and have referred the issue to the mayor's office.

City arts officials claim the work is "visual pollution", that it will give the city a bad image, that such displays in the streets without the landlord's approval is illegal, and that written texts should have accompanied the photos. Given the small amount of the grant and a positive acceptance of the exhibit by most Detroiters, the issue may end in limbo. Till next time anyway.

For the city and landlords, say the photographers, "the photographs have become more disturbing than the reality."

Detroit tenant-organizers have regularly confronted the city on its failure to apply the housing and building codes. A rent control referendum is on the August '88 ballot. By prohibiting rent increases where there is no code compliance, rent-control will give tenants a new tool for taking control of the quality of housing. Meanwhile, UCP photographers are committed to Detroit through an active combination of art and social struggle. Phase two is evolving.

Landlord faces on the sides of decayed buildings? Decayed buildings on the front of landlords houses?



Jessica Trevino/11th Hour

HOW TO DO LEAFLETS, NEWSLETTERS AND NEWSPAPERS

by Nancy Brigham

(with Ann Raszmann & Dick Cluster).

Available in bookstores for \$15 (or you can write and say you saw it reviewed in the IW and get it for \$8) postpaid from: PEP Publishers, 3519 Yorkshire, Detroit, Michigan, 48224.

Each day working people are bombarded with images designed to confuse, persuade and keep us in line. Madison Avenue and the White House press secretary are interchangeable and the press is a hypnotic fog machine.

We need our own means of communication. Printed stuff is the most available and most useful for grass roots organizations. A silent agitator, ink on a t-shirt, a leaflet tacked to a telephone pole, or a newsletter distributed by the hundreds. Something cheap, easy to make and distribute.

How does a group of Wobblies do this? How do volunteers put together a leaflet or newsletter which will reach people.

Nancy Brigham was a tenant union organizer in the Boston area in the early '70s when she saw a

need for sharing with other organizers and activists the skills and techniques needed to put together quality printed materials. Brigham wrote a how-to manual that works. Over the years Brigham has expanded and improved the manual drawing on the experiences of many labor, tenant and community organizers who have had to get flyers and newsletters out and used.

Brigham and friends show us how to edit, do a lay out, and distribution as well as understanding the various ways of reproducing it. The how-to information is presented in clear language with lots of useful pictures.

As important as the generally excellent how-to advice is the fact that the manual is written from and for the perspective of grass roots organizations. Small budgets and community based goals are taken as a given. Brigham knows what the problems in building a rank-and-file group are and offers the technical advice in a way that understands what we need to do with the information and what kinds of resources are involved. Whether your newsletter is in its first or fiftieth edition this well written how-to manual can help make it a great publication. Check it out. Tell 'em the IWW sent you.

STRUGGLE!

Where You Live
and
Where You Work!

Workingclass struggles around housing and the urban environment—e.g. homeless folks, homeowners and tenants versus landlords, speculators, banks, and developers—are integral to both the everyday struggle with capitalism and any hope of building a new society.

STRUGGLE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Housing struggles are immediate and meaningful in people's everyday lives. The landlord at the door demanding rent money, frequent rent increases, lousy conditions, age, race and other discriminations, threats against those who stand up to the landlord... these are some of the ways that conflict comes home for people in relation to home. And of course rent increases hit a household budget the same as a decrease in income.

Organized responses to housing problems include rent strikes, squats, eviction blockings, as well as a variety of other tactics. This struggle can result in tangible short-term gains as well as a practical education on the need to do away with landlords.

Ongoing tenants' unions can develop out of rank-and-file tenant struggle. These organizations serve people day to day and attract more people into the struggle. Tenants' unions, like labor unions, can be schools of struggle where working people experiment with the future and learn how to bring about change in the present. Tenants' unions can also be bases of workingclass action not connected to vested interests.

HOUSING STRUGGLE IS INCLUSIVE

Struggle at the point of reproduction includes people often excluded from workplace organizing. The very young and very old, kept away from the workplace, can be involved. People without jobs or who are underemployed can more readily take part.

Most importantly, tenant and housing organizing begins with and is carried through by women. Sure, there are always men willing to assume "power positions" in negotiating, leadership, or in talking to the press, but organizing in the homeplace is very much women-led and women-based. To develop the IWW and a revolution on this continent it is absolutely necessary that we develop multi-cultural strengths and it follows that women in positions of action and organizing are needed (as well as men who learn to undo biases and listen to the female parts of themselves).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AS AN ARENA OF STRUGGLE

Local government is deeply involved in advancing and protecting the interests of landlords. The county sheriff evicts tenants on the order of the local judge. Landlords feel free to have cops hassle tenants for organizing. Local bureaucrats inspect rental units and just never seem able to enforce the minimum health and safety standards.

Local government is the arena of struggle for much housing organizing. Local governments are notoriously sloppy and corrupt and often the collusion and confusion is so close to the surface that it's easy to rip away the facade and show that "the emperor/mayor has no clothes." Also there are people working for local government who want to express solidarity in the way they work by serving average citizens rather than favoring the elite, and so run into trouble with their bosses.

Wobblies agree on the necessity of waging struggle in everyday life as well as the need to act to build a new society—a revolutionary, a vastly different, future—here and now, in the shell of the old. This requires that we sing as well as picket, resist war and contract concessions, develop co-ops as well as graffiti artists. By organizing where we work and where we live we begin to overcome the fragmenting of our lives which capitalism promotes. In this way we begin to develop the various support systems needed to resist the tremendous forces arrayed against our class.

Next time you get a chance to support or take part in a rent strike, eviction blocking, squat or other housing struggle, do so with all the Wobly spirit you can! And remember, the world will be a much better place to live when we have no landlords and no bosses!

House Mouse

STAR STRANGLER BANGER, Cartoons & Illustrations by Ralph Steadman. Salem House Publishers (462 Boston Street, Topsfield, MA 01983) \$29.95 cloth.

Many review copies of books come through these editorial offices from various and sundry publishers, usually being books of interest to readers of a union periodical. Art books are a different matter. This reviewer on occasion has successfully solicited review copies from certain publishers while others don't seem to know what the hell the *Industrial Worker* is. For those in the latter category, their books are subsequently ignored by this reviewer.

The review copy of this book was neither solicited from the publisher nor sent to these editorial offices. Your reviewer obtained his review copy in a second-hand bookstore at half the list price. It was while perusing through his newly obtained treasure that the ticket marked "review copy" was found. The bookstore across the street has this same book at full price. Some reviewer was sent a complimentary copy who—in his or her abysmal incomprehension—failed to appreciate, much less write a review about. A clear case of casting pearls before the swine, a poorly chosen phrase considering that when we choose to take a member of our own species to task, we must compare them with an inoffensive member of another species.

This book is another collection of an outsider's impressions of Freedomland by the British cartoonist Ralph Steadman. The title, while being an uncomplimentary lampoon on Freedomland's national anthem, also alludes to the popular breakfast sausage that is served in England. Banger also refers to a banged-up used automobile. The cartoonist wants it to be understood that the euphemism is not intended for the American flag but for its constitution.

It was the Scottish poet Robbie Burns who wrote about the "gift to gie us to see oursel's as others see us" but unfortunately there are many of our fellow humans who don't want to see themselves as others see them, which may be the reason this review copy found itself on the shelves of a second-hand bookstore. Also there are those who may be offended by his merciless graphic style which to some may verge on the pornographic. It is not a book to have on the coffee table when the parson is visiting, or on the other hand, depending on how you may feel about your parson, it may just be the book to have on the coffee table when he comes around.

One thing for sure, Steadman is an unmerciful iconoclast. Nothing escapes his image-topping pen. Even Freedomland's minorities come in for their share, particularly those whose affluence motivates them to slavishly ape their erstwhile oppressors. A scathing cartoon of a hotel lobby full of Black Shriners is every bit as obscene as another depicting White political conventioners.

Pitiful are the Indians who watch the White suburbanite tourists taking over their material culture as their own front yards become cluttered up with useless second-hand autos. Needless to say it is the political policy of this nation that comes in for a lot of criticism. Secondly, the targets of his graphic barbs are the American middle class and their counterparts, that segment of the working class that has attained enough affluence to flaunt middle class affectations.

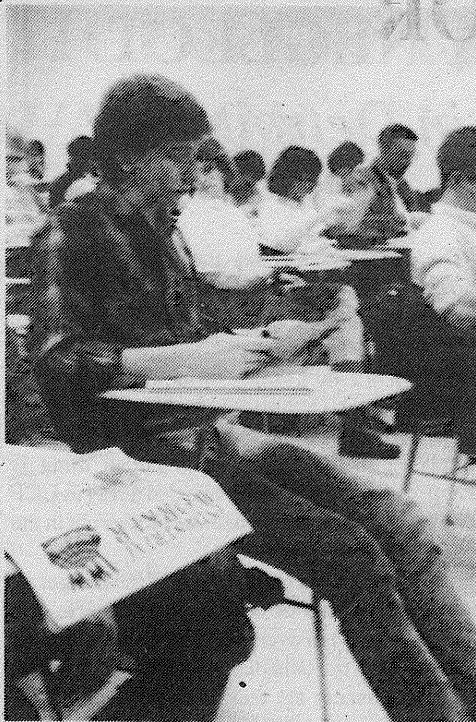
He mercilessly satires many of Freedomland's virile masculinity images, particularly the screen cowboy and the sports hero. All of America's sacred icons are appropriately dealt with. Not a one of our stateside cartoonists have the talent to depict our *politicoes* as does Steadman. His is the very rough style of the hasty ink sketch. He also does some excellent collage work, as well as using the same technique to alter and/or combine the portraits of well-known personalities. Reagan, Carter and Henry "da Kiss" all come in for their well-deserved treatment.

Along with his cartoons, graphics, collages and tampered-with photographs are his pithy commentaries. In his commentary about AIDS, he calls it the biggest thing since the Wall Street Crash, that now has America mouthing sentiments that it would not have been seen dead uttering ten years earlier... and suddenly it has become respectable to be a biggot.

Herein are to be found appropriate commentaries on Wall Street, Disneyland, the Houston and Los Angeles police forces, the citizens' passive acceptance of a murderous foreign policy and many other things dear to the heart of a radical journalist.

The British Isles have indeed produced some great literary and graphic satirists, not the least of which is our own Arthur Moyse. It is this reviewer's hearty recommendation that the reader who enjoys good cartoons should—if not purchase it outright—carefully browse through this excellent collection of a talented iconoclastic cartoonist at his or her local bookstore.

Alfredo Nuberoja



Industrial Worker goes to the University of Cincinnati! (see details in Branch News, page 11).

THE IMPERFECT UNION, by John Hutchinson. E.P. Dutton & Company, New York.

John Hutchinson's study examines the rise of corruption in American unions, after stipulating that corruption, while widespread, is by no means present in all, or even most, American unions. However, Hutchinson isn't naive enough to put the blame on the unions alone, or to claim that it's a new thing. Instead, he examines the history of corruption in business and government as well as in unions, bringing up some interesting and widely unknown points (for example, it was often the employer who brought in the mob, and the unions often had to bring in organized crime to counter it).

Summed up, Hutchinson's thesis is that trade union corruption results both from employers who "have sought by cheating and violence to circumvent the strictures of competition, unionization, and the law" and from the philosophical basis of the average American trade union. Hutchinson points out that business unionism's emphasis on economic improvements alone, with no overall goal of improving society or changing the status quo, combined with a societal belief that wealth is the true signifier of success, made some degree of corruption within trade unions inevitable. The AFL had few ideological restraints against corruption, and its business-union philosophy provided the basis for "its respect for the rights of the employer and of private property. The creed of the AFL was thus a commitment to private enterprise, a suspicion of public authority, and a reliance on independent economic power in the pursuit of limited ends...the first loyalty of the trade unionist was to his own organization." This also led to little loyalty to the labor movement in general, and set an example for personal gain at the expense of those one represents—the me-first doctrine can apply to the individual as well as the union, once it has become an established basis for operation.

Hutchinson's thesis is clearly laid out at the beginnings and ends of the book; the middle is an extremely scholarly history of various trades and professions and how corruption entered them. The book is often interesting and gripping, but includes many unnecessary facts which could just as easily have been left out. The writing is, in general, objective, and one can easily believe that the thesis followed research rather than vice versa—in other words, that Hutchinson's ideas were fashioned from the facts, not that the facts were selected to support his ideas. The research for the book is impressive, as is the documentation provided for almost every fact and incident mentioned.

The Imperfect Union provides an excellent series of insights into the workings and causes of corrupt unions, neatly countering most of the general misconceptions with facts and conservative theories. At the same time, it's as readable as any scholarly text can be. It should be required reading in all high school and college courses discussing trade union corruption.

Dave Zatz

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Send S.A.S.E. to:
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Box 1107
Spokane, WA, 99210

BUYING INTO AMERICA: How Foreign Money Is Changing the Face of Our Nation, by *Martin and Susan Tolchin*, Times Books, 1988.

Them damn furriners are buying up the country, it says here, buying Treasury notes, building factories paid for by working stiff's like you and me, and hoarding real estate. Why they're even buying banks and grocery stores! These damn furriners don't show a proper respect for American values neither. Why, they're anti-union, they lobby the government for exemption from pollution controls, they discriminate against women and they don't like affirmative action one bit. And what's worse, our government is actively encouraging these grafters to invest—giving them tax breaks, low-interest loans, and letting them hide their identities behind a corporate veil. Why, they're selling America right out from under us!

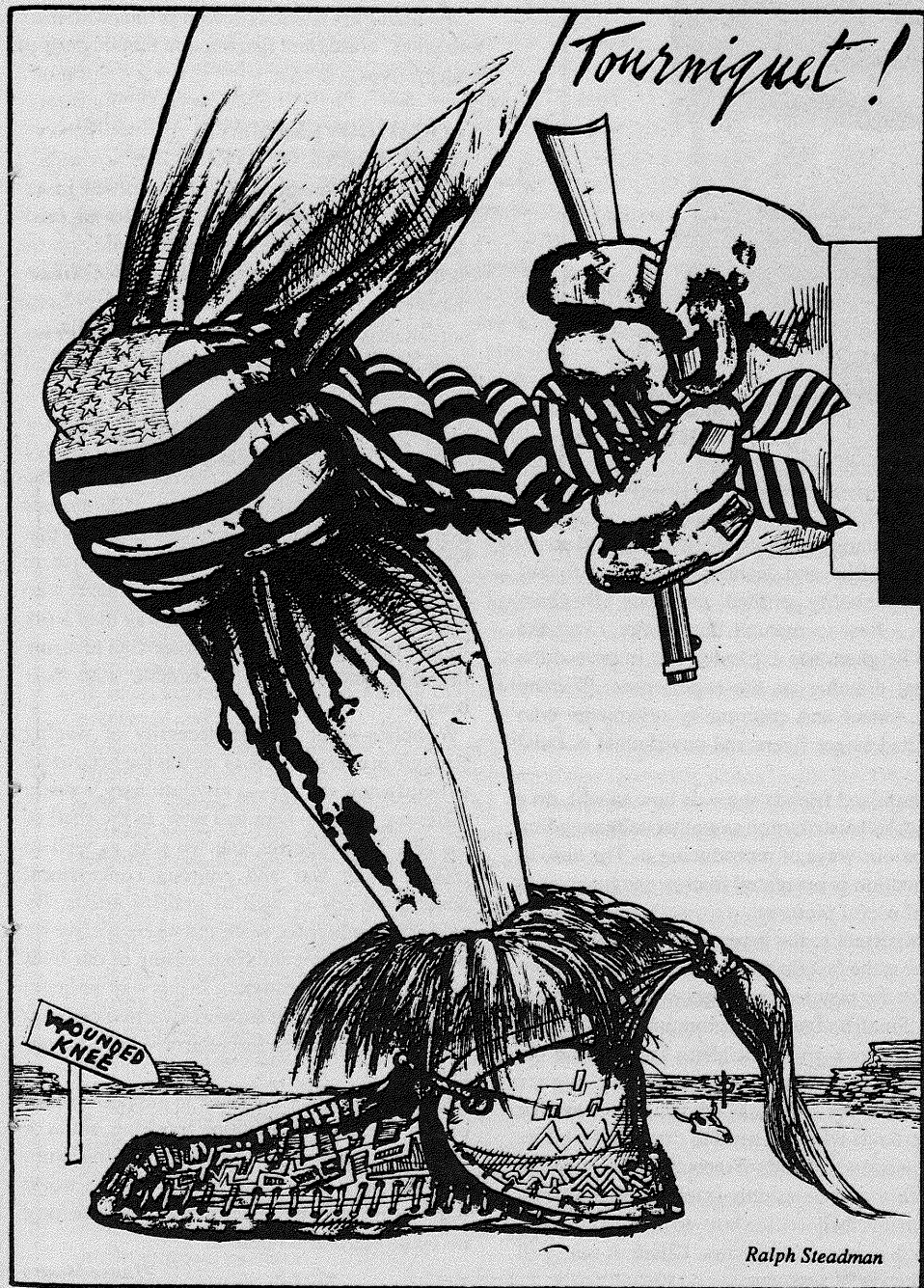
That, in a nutshell, is the Tolchins' argument. (Of course, they don't put things quite so plainly—Martin Tolchin, after all, writes for the *New York Times* while his wife is a college professor who must maintain some pretense of academic standards.) And there's quite a bit of useful information in here, backing their claim that foreign investors are receiving massive subsidies from U.S. taxpayers for their operations, that they lobby, fund and pressure politicians to defend their interests, and that they don't always show much regard for the needs of communities in which they invest their funds. So what else is new?

I hadn't exactly noticed as how American-owned companies were falling over themselves in their eagerness to support affirmative action programs, workers' rights to organize and enjoy decent working conditions, or to stop polluting, somehow. And it seems to me these "American" companies get a lot of tax breaks and give-aways of their own. Indeed, amidst all the rhetoric about the need to "level the playing field" and eliminate the unfair advantage U.S. policy allows foreign investors, the Tolchins do admit that pretty much all the incentives being offered by state and local government to lure foreign investors (tax holidays, low-interest loans to build the plants, taxpayer-paid infrastructure improvements and job training, primarily) are available to U.S. companies as well. (Remember the bidding war to get GM's new Saturn plant?) Nor had I exactly noticed as how U.S. companies were exactly notorious for operating in the long-term interests of society as a whole, solicitous of our general welfare, without undue influence in the political sphere, or even particularly prone to being "American"—whatever that means. (Bought an American car lately? Odds are that a substantial portion, if not the entire car, was made by wage slaves in some country such as South Korea or that colossus to the North, Canada—which is, the Tolchins solemnly warn, buying up American assets lock, stock and barrel.)

So somehow, I find it difficult to get all worked up about whether the parasites who live off my labor live in the U.S., Japan or Kuwait. And while I take exception to having Uncle Sam and the states grab a quarter of my paycheck to turn it over to the corporations, I don't see as how it makes much difference what flag flies over the headquarters of the ultimate beneficiary. Either way we're getting screwed. Nor am I all that concerned as to who holds the notes on the national debt. Either we're going to let ourselves be ground into the dirt like our fellow workers in the so-called developing world trying to pay that debt (most of which went to maintaining the rich in the lifestyle to which they have become accustomed), or we're going to organize to take control of industry of our lives, in which case we won't be paying anyone.

Of course, it may be that I'm lacking the proper patriotic qualities that it takes to care passionately about where the loafers who live off my, and my fellow workers', labor reside. (Indeed, policemen have brought this character defect to my attention on more than one occasion.) Readers of a more patriotic bent may well be concerned by the fact that red-blooded American exploiters are being displaced by furriners whose names you can't hardly pronounce. They'll find this book interesting. And there is some good information here about the massive giveaways our government offers the exploiting class. But I find the notion that it makes a damn bit of difference what nationality the boss it to be, to say the least bizarre. Either way we still got to organize and take control of industry if it's to be run in our interests.

Jon Bekken



CHILD LABOR IN THE PHILIPPINES

Special to the Industrial Worker

"How old do you think that little boy is?" the nun asked.

The small Filipino child obviously malnourished, was the size of five year olds whom the visitor knew, but she guessed six.

"Ten," Sister Kathleen, a Columbian nun who works with children in Mindinao, said.

Not making that kind of mistake is part of understanding the Philippines.

Dewey Boulevard along Manila Bay as well as other well-traveled highways throughout the Philippines are lined with children who, instead of being in school, are selling cigarettes, bananas or quail eggs to earn money to eat.

And these represent some of the more decent jobs children are being forced to take in a country where extraordinary wealth and destitution live a fence apart.

Philippine economy, by exploiting rather than educating its children, is trading in on its future. The result could weaken the fabric of Philippine society.

Philippine parents, the visitor quickly learns, will work any job, make any sacrifice to educate their children.

The problem lies not with parents and certainly not with the children, but with the world-exploited economy of the Philippines. Jobs there are so scarce that unemployment or serious underemployment may touch as much as half the work force, according to the U.S. Department of State Bulletin for December, 1987.

These figures do not take into account the Philippines having some of the lowest wages in Southeast Asia, and therefore in the world. Nor do they show a strange, almost unbelievable phenomenon: it is common for employers not to pay workers for their wages for extended periods of full time work.

Romulo works full time as a janitor in Manila. He has not been paid for eleven months.

Belin takes in laundry daily from a restaurant. She washes it by hand at home and hangs it dry on the roof. She has not been paid for four months.

Both Romulo and Belin live in shanties in a "squatter" area of Manila.

They are indicative of many adults throughout the Philippines who are not paid for work but say they cannot quit because someone else would

take their jobs.

"It is not unusual," a social worker in Manila said. "People from other cultures and economies cannot imagine, much less understand it." The impact on children in the family is obvious.

They need to work, but there are no jobs and they must create employment by doing insignificant labor for insignificant wages.

Sixty per cent of the entire population of the Philippines live below the World Bank's poverty line. The majority live very far below that line.

In this environment, children are often driven into the work force as a matter of survival.

At most major intersections in Manila, children sell cigarettes and candy to passing drivers. Children scavenge the streets and garbage dumps for wood, metal, cardboard, bottles, anything usable and saleable. At shopping centers, underpasses and outside churches, children are industrious and persuasive sellers or beggars.

Under the bridge leading out of the U.S. Naval base in Olongapo, young boys in a small rowboat call to passers-by to throw coins into the sewage canal known as "shit river." The children dive for these pesos to purchase their next meal.

Child prostitutes as young as 8 years old work in Olongapo for unscrupulous bosses who use them to have sex with servicemen and tourists. Police estimate there are over 9,000 child prostitutes in the Philippine islands.

Maria, who asked that her real name not be used, said she was brought to Manila when she was 14 years old. She had lived with her 7 brothers and sisters in a small village on the impoverished island of Leyte, one of the central Philippine islands.

"One day a man who was known to the people in my village came and told the families there that he was recruiting girls for jobs he knew of as maids and babysitters in Manila," Maria said.

This meant a future for these girls, and 10 families turned their daughters over to the "recruiter." The job turned out to be a room in a hotel in the Chinatown district of Manila. Here Maria and the others were kept locked individually in their rooms.

The first night, Maria was held hands and feet by two women while she was raped. For the next year she was used for sex daily by tourists. She finally escaped with the help of a sympathetic client. She came to Olongapo, a well known sex and recreation area for American sailors. Maria now works in the bars there as a prostitute.

Jan Lugabihl, a Mennonite missionary, worked with the street children in Olongapo.

"Often," she said, "14 or 15 year olds work in the bars of Olongapo who lie about their age." Olongapo has over 1,500 bars whose prostitutes are required to purchase a city permit as "entertainers."

Lugabihl described an 8 year old boy who lives in a cement pipe in Olongapo.

"He hustles servicemen at the pool halls," she said. "First he lets them win, then he beats them and takes his winnings."

This 8 year old, and the thousands of other children working to survive, will grow up without an education. Schools in the Philippines require parents to supply the uniforms which are worn by all Philippine school children. Parents must also pay fees, buy books, and provide all meals. These costs as well as the need for survival income keep many more children from attending public school.

Far more threatening realities face children than lack of education. Only 30% of Filipino children have normal weight. The rest suffer from varying degrees of malnutrition. In addition, surveys by the Food and Nutrition Research Institute show 75% to 80% of Filipino school children suffer from intestinal parasites, including multiple infections.

The toll on children is staggering. Infant mortality (birth to one year old) accounts for nearly 25% of total deaths in the country. Deaths among children from one to four years old constitute another 13% of all deaths.

Of the ten leading causes of death among children, nine are curable and preventable.

In a larger sense, some observers have asked, are not the economic and labor-related causes of the poverty that contribute to this tragedy also curable and preventable?

Carol Heise



LONDON: The damp inhabitants of Britain's sea girt islands have always "loved a sailor" until the phrase earned a *mots-a-double* entente during the Flower Power era when make love not war was the order of the day. But a nation that has always taken its holidays and fought its wars by the sea or on the sea cannot lightly cast away the salty smell of the bell-bottom trousers, the bosuns lash and the sight of the old Red Duster flying in the high winds while the waves break over my half-eaten pork pie as I lean over the rail. The sailors along Britain's coastal towns are now into their third month of lockout action as they defy the State, the employers, and the scab-recruiting agencies. Britain is an island of people and materials are shipped between Britain and Europe day and night across the English Channel and the North Sea. With the coming into being of Ma Thatcher's cross-channel tunnel, the hard-faced entrepreneurs who gamble with shipping on a world scale know that within a fistful of years the cross ferry shipping money market will be a write-off.

Those that control the cross channel ferries are determined to squeeze the salty fruit until the last pip drops out. Hence it is the old formula of mass sacking of ships crews, longer hours and a cut in living standards and all with the cry that the ship owners have howled through history that they must cut the living standards of the workers "to compete". One could ask "compete with whom?" for money is international and knows no morality or national boundaries. Just as the ships in the Persian Gulf change their national flag to demand fire power protection from the British or the American navies on patrol, so too the 'competing' ferry ships must be part of the international money market of Wall Street, the Stock Exchange and the Paris Bourse hawking their shares to any tout in search of a quick profit and that at the expense of the lives of seamen and women aboard merchant ship.

When the crews of the National Union of Seamen and the women refused to sail because of the cuts in working conditions and crew sackings, it was declared a strike; but to me it is a classic lockout. It is an international lockout, as Sam McCluskie, the bearded seamen and women's NUS union leader knows, for ships in Dutch and French ports are being made ready with scab crews to take to sea while alongside those white

cliffs of Dover. Fortunately the ship owners failed to get the Law Lords within Britain's High Court to grant them their demand that the seamen's union funds of five million dollars should—as in the miner's strike—be sequestered by the officers of the State until seamen, women and the ship owners have had a 'friendly' talk.

Already strike action is being taken at other ports by uninvolved crews in support of the Dover men and women—for they know that if the crews lose, then they, in turn, will have to walk the strike, with help called for from the seamen and women in Holland and France, one dare not prophesy. As in the British coal miner's strike, Ma Thatcher has decided to take a personal interest in a conflict between the workers and the State. So once more the battle lines are being formed by a classic lockout dictated by the state-supported ship owners—for this day there ain't no bluebirds over the White Cliffs of Dover, only a united picket line of seamen and women. Their fight is your fight, comrade. In the comedy of errors that is Britain's industrial middle ground, the no-strike, sweetheart, union con-men continue to play the jackals in soft selling deals to the big-monied industrial bosses with their prize of a single union that they will play ring masters to.

Harry McShane, who has an honoured place in workingclass history, died this month. After life of battle in the industrial front line, Harry resigned from the British Communist Party in 1953 because of his "disgust at the sycophantically Stalinist line of the British Community Party." But Harry lad, 1953 was a bit late in your fighting 96 years of life to discover the facts of life—still, one must wish him well. For those who wish for an evening of laser beams, pop music and of rhetorical blood-and-guts can buy their way into the June mass-meeting of the Militant's Trotskyist "ultra-Left" rally at Alexandra Palace. I kid you not comrades, the star of the evening will be Leon Trotsky's grandson. Sixty year old Esteban Volkow runs the Trotsky Museum in Mexico City and in June he will be enthroned within Alexandra Palace as King for a Day, which is more than Prince Charles can boast of, Esty lad.

So Esteban Volkow, son of Zina Trotsky, *this is your life*.

Arthur Moyse

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REBEL VOICES: AN IWW ANTHOLOGY

by Joyce Kornbluh

It's Back At Last!

Joyce Kornbluh's fond research has brought back to fervent, fiery life the crusading days of the IWW. . . . Not even the doughtiest of capitalism's defenders can read these pages without understanding how much of glory and nobility there was in the IWW story and how much of shame for the nation that treated the Wobblies so shabbily. . .

-Abe Raskin, N.Y. Times Book Review

Available from the IWW
Published by Charles Kerr Publishing Company

Why not set up a date for Joyce Kornbluh to appear in a Rebel Voices book-party in your town?
It's a great way to help spread the Wobbly word to those who need to hear it! Bookstores,
union halls, and colleges are all suitable locations for such an event.

Call IWW Headquarters at 312/549-5045 or the Kerr Co. at 312/465-7774 for further information.

AN INJURY TO ONE

During the 1936-37 seamen's outlaw strike that brought an end to the old International Seamen's Union, a Wobbly named John Kane was shot and killed by the Houston ISU agent, one Wilbur Dickey. The shooting occurred on December 4. Kane died in the hospital 11 days later, on December 15. During those 11 days, as bulletins detailing his condition were issued daily by the hospital, Johnny Kane grew close to martyr status in the minds of strikers and sympathizers. The local press estimated that Kane's funeral was attended by 800 strikers, sympathiz-

Kane memorial would have been erected after that time. The monument stands some seven feet high. Along a curved top are the words: AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL. Below, line by line:

MTW
NMU
JOHN KANE : 1902-1935
DIED IN THE BATTLE
TO UNITE LABOR
DEC. 15, 1936
MARINE TRANSPORT UNION
NATIONAL MARITIME UNION

Place of burial was old Evergreen Cemetery in Houston's East End. Evergreen is not a perpetual care cemetery. It became a dense jungle over the years. About 1960 a group of civic organizations went together and cleared the place. Then the jungle took over again. A couple of years ago a local Episcopal church, The Church of the Redeemer, began sponsoring a cleanup of the old cemetery that is still ongoing. Meanwhile, neither those of the National Maritime Union nor we of the Marine Transport Workers honored Johnny's memory by keeping his gravesite neat.

The church's clearing operation revealed that the ground at the monument's base had settled and the monument had toppled. Two active members of the work force, David Holiman, NMU seaman, and Harvey Breed, ILA Longshoreman, took an interest in the John Kane Story. Holiman approached local officers of the NMU, while Breed brought it to the attention of officers of the Seafarer's International Union (SIU). Both parties expressed interest, I am told; but there was no immediate movement. So the two men did some fundraising on their own. The monument has been restored.

What of its future? Well, memories are short. I was caught asleep in 1986, the fiftieth anniversary of the rank-and-file strike. The press would have shown an interest at that anniversary time.

NMU president Shannon Wall, writing in the "Golden Anniversary" edition of the NMU PILOT, averred that some 25 rank-and-filers lost their lives in the outlaw strike. Holiman told me that he ran into a negative reaction on the part of some contemporary seamen when talking up the restoration of the Kane marker: "He was just one of twenty-five, wasn't he?"

Yes, he was just one of twenty-five. All dead. Mostly forgotten?

Gilbert Mers

UAW SIGNS WEAK PACT WITH CHRYSLER

The most interesting thing to come out of the contract negotiations between the United Automobile Workers and Chrysler Corporation this spring was the disclosure concerning Lee Iacocca's salary, bonuses and incentive payments, and that of other Chrysler executives. Negotiations came to a temporary halt when union representatives learned that Iacocca was paid close to \$18 million in 1987. That is down from the \$23 million he was paid in 1986, but still amounts to \$8,608 per hour, or 615 times the amount earned by an assembly-line worker.

As in previous years, the bulk of Iacocca's income—about \$13.5 million—resulted from the exercise of stock options granted several years back, when the company was in a difficult financial position. In all, the company paid \$102 million in bonuses to 2,035 executives, up from \$77 million in 1986. The company's profit in 1987 was \$1.3 billion, down from \$1.4 billion in 1986.

The disclosure came on the second day of contract bargaining negotiations involving some 60,000 Chrysler workers. The company had just demanded that workers accept reductions in both the 30-year early retirement program and health care coverage, in order to save the company money.

Union leaders said a company pledge to henceforth not pay executive bonuses unless workers collected profit-sharing payments "is only a step in the right direction." The pledge, they added, "does not address the gross disparities between overall levels of compensation from the executive suite to the shop floor."

Although the current three-year contract does not expire until September 15, the union stipulated early negotiations after Chrysler executives announced that discussions were under way to sell Acustar, a subsidiary created in 1987 to handle all operations that make parts other than engines and transmissions. When Chrysler said it was thinking of selling Acustar (which includes 29 of the company's plants and almost half of all Chrysler workers) UAW leaders accused the company of trying to dispose of the subsidiary before more job security could be negotiated. Marc Stepp, head of UAW's Chrysler department, announced that all cooperative programs, such as joint efforts to improve qual-

ity, would be halted. The company broke off sales talks, but said it would close or sell four unprofitable Acustar plants employing 2,100 workers.

Job security came up repeatedly during the negotiations, both in regard to the closing of an auto assembly plant in Kenosha, Wisconsin and the projected transfer of K-body production to Mexico. Chrysler took over the Kenosha plant when it acquired American Motors Corp. in 1987, then announced in January that it would be closing the plant this fall.

The workers accused Chrysler officials of breaking their promise to operate the plant for five years. The contract presented to the workers for ratification included an extra \$20 million in assistance for the Kenosha workers.

The UAW has bargained separately with Chrysler since late 1979, since the company conned the workers into deferring pay increases and giving up paid holidays to help cut company costs and qualify for federally backed loans. Since the company returned to profit-gouging in the mid-80s, wages and benefits for the workers have returned about the same level as GM and Ford, but a few concessions remain.

The 28-month contract presented to the membership is at least timed to expire at the same time as those at GM and Ford, in September 1990. This would bring Chrysler back into the UAW strategy of setting an industry-wide pattern by bargaining simultaneously with all auto makers, if the UAW has the will to do so.

Penny Pixler



ECONOMICS TRAINING FOR POLITICAL ACTIVISTS

This summer the Center for Popular Economics will hold its Tenth Annual Summer Institute. The Institute is a week-long course in economics for activists from labor unions, women's groups, community organizations, peace and anti-intervention groups, anti-racist organizations, environmental groups and progressive educators. The session will be held from July 30 - August 5, at Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts.

The course provides intensive training in people-oriented economic literacy and analysis. Topics covered include unemployment, inflation, international economics, unions and labor markets, the political economy of racism and sexism, Reaganomics and more. The goal of the institute is to give progressive activists economic knowledge and skills that will help them in their political work, particularly in combatting the policies and rhetoric of the new right.

The Center is currently developing specialized curriculums designed for use in the Latino communities, and in high school classrooms. There will be meetings and workshops for people interested in these projects during the course of the Summer Institute.

The teaching staff at the Summer Institute are professionally trained political economists, most of whom are working in colleges and universities around the country. Others are employed in labor unions and state government.

The cost of the seven-day program includes room and board and is on a sliding scale ranging from \$300 to \$500. Scholarships and free childcare are available. For additional information and an application for the Summer Institute, please write to Natasha Harmon of the Center for Popular Economics, P.O. Box 785, Amherst, Massachusetts, 01004, or call her at (413) 545-0743.

ers, and members of other unions.

Somebody proposed that a monument be erected over the grave. This was done at a later date. The inscription is a salute from the Marine Transport Workers and National Maritime Union. The latter union came into existence in May of 1937, several months after the strike; so the

Tenants' Justice...

(continued from page 6)

to put their trust in the legal system is a form of political suicide. No significant change in our society has ever occurred without the direct involvement of the group which is seeking change. It's business as usual, otherwise.

The poor have got to shock and frighten the elites if economic justice is to result. We don't need more temporary shelters, we need more

tenant-owned apartment buildings! And you don't get those kinds of rewards by playing by the rules. The rules are for the rich and the faint of heart.

If one has any doubts that the threat of violence during the 1960s didn't get the poor all those welfare programs initiated by the Johnson Administration, then just think about how quickly the programs disappeared once the angry masses left the streets.

As an organizer I have attempted over the last three years to utilize the limited strategies which the law allows. However, I can no longer in good conscience advise poor people to seek justice through legal means. And yet, the alternative to "status quo organizing" is just as bleak. Storm the City County Building? Burn the landlord's house down? Assassinate a few fat cats? On whose behalf? The tenants? Don't kid yourself!

Until the poor become angry enough to risk failure, and sufficiently lethal in their actions enough to risk injury, nothing in this country is going to change. We need to understand that economic justice for the poor comes not from the bench inside the court house, but from abandoning our faith in what passes for courtroom "justice" entirely.

As for me, let's just say that for the moment I remain transfixed.

Doug Smith



DIRECTORY
of IWW Branches & Delegates

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COLORADO. Denver-Boulder General Membership Branch, 2412 E. Colfax Ave., Denver 80206. 303-388-1065. Open Saturdays 9-12 noon. Meetings at 7 pm, second Sunday of each month. Educational Forums monthly (call for date, time and location). Gary Cox, Branch Sec'y, Box 478, Johnstown 85034. 303-587-4507. * David Frazer, Delegate, Box 6, Rollinsville 80474. 303-494-4809. * Lowell May, Delegate, 2201 Eliot, Denver 80211. 303-458-0870.

FLORIDA. Fred Hansen, Delegate, Box 824, New Port Richey, 34656.

GEORGIA. Atlanta IWW Group. PO Box 54766, Atlanta, 30308-0766, 404-257-1838.

ILLINOIS. Chicago General Membership Branch (M. Hargis, Sec'y), 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago 60657. 312-549-5045. * Chicago General Defense Committee Local 2 (same address as Chicago Branch). * Champaign-Urbana IWW Group Box 2824, Station A, Champaign 61820.

KENTUCKY. Louisville IWW Group, 2024 Baringer Avenue, Louisville 37581.

LOUISIANA. Shreveport IWW Group, PO Box 37581, Shreveport 71133.

MARYLAND. Baltimore Area Branch (General Membership), PO Box 33528, Baltimore, 21218. (301)947-8385. Rosana Marino, Secretary. Meets 2nd Wednesday every month. Regional Organizing Committee, Greg Buckingham, Chair, Rt. 1, Box 137A, Arvonnia, VA 23004.

MASSACHUSETTS. Boston General Membership Branch, Box 454, Cambridge 02139, 617-522-7090. * Berkshire Learning Center Job Branch, 35 Curtis Terrace, Pittsfield 01201.

MICHIGAN. Southeast Michigan General Membership Branch, 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti 48197. 313-483-3478. Meetings isecnd Monday of each month at 7:30 pm in Room 4001 of the Michigan Union. * University Cellar I.U. 660 Job Branch, 425 South Summit, Ypsilanti, 48197. * People's Warehouse I.U. 660 Job Branch c/o Sarah Rucker, 727 West Ellsworth Road, Ann Arbor 48104. * Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids 49506. * Delegate, 1101 Cottage Row, Hancock 49930.

MINNESOTA. Minneapolis-St. Paul General Membership Branch (Nancy A. Collins, Delegate), PO Box 2245, St. Paul 55102. Meetings third Wednesday of each month.

MONTANA. Western Montana General Membership Branch Hall, 415 North Higgins, Room 104, Missoula. Open Monday through Saturday, 12-5. 800-873-4000 or 406-721-3000. A.L. Nurse, Delegate. Address all correspondence to IWW Branch, PO Box 8562, Missoula 59807.

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SOLIDARITY FOREVER!
IWW BRANCH NEWS

SW OHIO

At the tail end of a Cincinnati Transit strike and in the midst of a multi-union strike at GE (SW Ohio's largest employer), FW Jim Dittner gave a talk in February to some 100 University of Cincinnati students. The topic: the relevance of unionism in general and OBU-style unionism in particular. Also stressed was the relevance of collective action for "white collar" and professional workers. Some 75 copies of the *Industrial Worker* were distributed to the enthusiastic crowd of politically-minded students.

The Prisoner's Organizing Project took a new and potentially fruitful turn when two female prisoner workers joined the IWW in April, recruited by Fellow Worker John Perotti.

But the biggest story involving the POP was the recent national media attention and the "ripple effect" it has had locally; Dayton's biggest AM radio station, WHIO, recently held a call-in talk show which dealt exclusively with the Lucasville controversy, with results that were surprisingly sympathetic toward the IWW's struggle!

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL

Twin Cities Wobs distributed some 500 copies of the May "Radical Environmentalism" issue of the *IW* at the annual May Day gathering organized by the Heart of the Beast Puppet and Mask Theater at Powderhorn Park, and several hundred more at local bookstores, peace centers, ice-cream parlors and laundromats. Response to recent issues of the paper has been fantastic, and an influx of new members has brightened the prospects for IWW agitation and organization in the area. Anything's possible if we just keep fanning the flames!

CHICAGO

On May 1st, the Chicago Branch together with the Chicago Chapter of the Socialist Party held a "Speak Out" at Lincoln Park. Many of those attending took the opportunity to denounce their jobs and bosses, or capitalism in general. We finished the speak-out by singing the "International" and "The Red Flag" and passed out several copies of the *IW*.

Chicago IWWs took part in a large May 6 "No Jails for Whales" demonstration at the downtown aquarium, protesting a proposed multi-million dollar "Oceanarium" that would confine captive whales in the most deplorable conditions imaginable. Local Wobs also helped organize a May 22 Earth First! road-show denouncing uranium-mining in the Grand Canyon, featuring a slide-show by Roger Featherstone and songs by Dakota Sid.

DENVER-BOULDER

April was a busy month for the Denver-Boulder Branch. Wobblies continued their anti-apartheid demonstrations. Joel Lewis was arrested at a demonstration at the nuclear trigger plant, Rocky Flats, just outside of Denver, and was roughed up by police. Wobblies were also present at public hearings to protest the construction of the controversial Two Forks Dam—another pork barrel project wanted by real estate developers to insure future growth and jobs.

On April 22nd John McCutcheon came in to do a benefit concert for our "Boycott Hormel" billboards. We made \$600. Thanks, John. Any Wob who has the chance to hear John's music should partake. It's down home music with a message.

On April 29, 30, and May 1 we celebrated World Labor Day (see May Day in Colorado article this issue). On May 10 we joined a demonstration at the International Paper stockholder's annual meeting in Denver to protest their union-busting attack on the UPIU brothers and sisters in Maine, Alabama, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

Gary Cox
(Editor's note: John McCutcheon, c/o Appleseed Productions, 1025 Locust Ave., Charlottesville VA, 22901-4031)

SAN FRANCISCO

On May 5th the famed City Lights Bookstore celebrated the republication of *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology* with a rollicking IWW songfest and book-party. The book's author, Joyce Kornbluh, was on hand for the occasion, along with the shop's proprietor, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and enough local Wobs, poets and assorted radicals to make those choruses of "Solidarity Forever" carry for a mile or more.

ANN ARBOR

The People's Warehouse Job Branch has elected a new shop committee and is getting ready for contract bargaining. The Job Branch is demanding cost of living increases, and to bring some lowly-paid semi-volunteers into the bargaining unit, among other items.

Networking is desired with workers in other wholesale and retail food co-ops. This is needed to counter the tactics of co-op management which tends to become increasingly "Ford-ist."

The Ann Arbor Tenants' Union Job Branch is engaged in organizing tenants around issues which increase tenants' control. TU staffers and members are involved in publishing the local newsletter Tenants' Voice and the regional National Tenants' Union newsletter 11th Hour.

A strong Wob/ex-Wob presence was felt in this winter's rent-control campaign, which—though it was lost—lifted class struggle issues to center stage in this politically conservative city. The campaign dashed many people's illusions, as tenants who engaged in organizing were forced to fight evictions, were harassed by police, chased with baseball bats by landlords, railroaded by judges, and bombarded with lies in the mainstream press. The struggle continues!

Wobs have also been sighted at demonstrations in solidarity with Central American and Palestinian revolutionary movements and against the construction of the world's largest incinerator at Detroit.

SHREVEPORT

On International Labor Day local agitators took part in a very small but effective May Day protest.

We made the front page of Shreveport's largest daily and received a fairly sympathetic report. That and the occasional (but ongoing) street-corner agitation has resulted in widespread interest in the IWW here.

The "Deep South" issue of the *Industrial Worker* has proven to be quite popular and thanks to the efforts of GA we've received more copies to distribute. Small bundles have also been sent to Baton Rouge, New Orleans, and Knoxville, TN.

Also in the works for the Shreveport area is a planned speaking engagement by H.L. Mitchell, co-founder of the STFU.

And finally, a friend of the IWW has written a brief but informative history of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers. We're planning on publishing it in pamphlet form and we hope to have it out by the end of May.

Ben Trant

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON! THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHOLD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THIS MAKING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FIGHTING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

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- ☐ Roll the Union On: Pictorial History of Southern Tenant Farmers' Union by H.L. Mitchell 7.95
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- ☐ A Workers' Guide to Direct Action. .50 from N.Y. IWW, P.O. Box 183, NY 10028
- ☐ Introduction to the IWW. .10 each; bulk rate 40%, prepaid, from San Francisco IWW, P.O. Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140.
- ☐ Solidarity Bulletin (monthly publication) \$10/yr. from Vancouver IWW, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V5N 3K5
- ☐ Amnesty for British Miners (enamel & gold buttons) \$10 each from Chicago IWW Branch, 3435 N. Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, IL. 60657. (All proceeds to British miners.)
- ☐ Wobbly T-Shirts, \$10 postpaid from Denver-Boulder IWW Branch, P.O.Box 478, Johnstown, CO, 80534.

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Chicago, Illinois, 60657

THE 1913 PATERSON STRIKE REVISITED

THE IWW AND THE PATERSON SILK STRIKE OF 1913 by Anne Huber Tripp. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1987. 317 pages; illustrated. \$29.95 (cloth only).

June 7, 1988 marks the 75th anniversary of the famous pageant of the Paterson strikers at New York's Madison Square Garden, an extraordinary theatrical offshoot of the most written-about strike in IWW history.

Paterson began like many other IWW-led strikes. In late January 1913 some 800 unorganized silk-weavers, in protest against the newly introduced four-loom system, spontaneously walked out of a textile firm in Paterson, New Jersey, and contacted the IWW for help. Although the IWW had less than a thousand members in Paterson at the time, the Union was soon leading 25,000 workers in a historic conflict that shut down the town's main industry for over five months.

Largely because of inter-capitalist rivalries for which the Union had no time to prepare, the strike did not end in a victory. Paterson had nearly 300 small silk firms and a handful of large ones. As Bill Haywood remarked, the strike would have been short and successful had not the big companies, which also owned large plants out of state, stalled in order to drive their smaller local competitors out of business. The IWW did its best, with Socialist Party support, to extend the strike beyond Paterson, throughout the industry, but this proved impossible and the struggle was confined to a single town.

If the IWW lost, however, the employers cannot be said to have won. Formerly known as the "Lyons of America," Paterson never recovered as a silk center. Hit hard by the 1914 depression, a few years later it ceased to be a major industrial community.

With numerous mass rallies, 1473 arrests and five killed, the Paterson strike was nothing if not dramatic, and this quality doubtless inspired the June 7 pageant at Madison Square Garden. One of the most impressive events in the history of the American theater, "The World's Greatest Labor Play" (as Phillips Russell titled his article on it in the *International Socialist Review* for July 1913) was meant to publicize the strike and raise funds for the strikers. It was a remarkable collaborative effort on the part of rank-and-file



workers, Wobbly organizers and radically-inclined bohemian artists and writers, especially those of the independent socialist magazine, *The Masses*. The pageant scenario was written by a 26-year-old poet named John Reed who, a few months later, would be south of the border with Pancho Villa, writing firsthand reports of the Mexican Revolution.

Every effort was made to heighten the dramatic intensity of the Paterson production. Preceding the performance was a massive strikers' parade down Broadway to the Garden. High atop the Garden tower, the letters IWW appeared in huge red electric lights; never before had the Union's initials been so conspicuously displayed. Inside,

an audience of 15,000 watched 1000 actual strikers re-enact highlights of the Paterson struggle. With red flags flying everywhere, Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Big Bill Haywood and other Wobblies delivered fiery speeches. "Throughout the performance," Anne Huber Tripp notes in this book, "the actors were joined by the sympathetic audience, which booed, cheered and sang along with the cast of strikers. It was a memorable event for all, and there were few who were not moved by what had been depicted." Moreover, "Press reaction to the pageant was almost uniformly positive to it as an artistic production."

This first full-length study of the strike in-

cludes an abundance of interesting details not found in the scores of shorter accounts, and corrects a few errors made by earlier historians. As is true of most academic students of this Union, Tripp evinces little sympathy for IWW aims and principles. She sees a dire, irresolvable conflict, for instance, between the IWW's goal of social revolution on the one hand and the day-to-day struggle for industrial unionism on the other. But surely this is nothing compared to the conflict between trying to improve workers' conditions and supporting the capitalist system of wage-slavery!

More seriously, and all too typical of what passes for scholarly research on the IWW today, Tripp's bibliography includes no foreign-language sources—a grave oversight in a study of a town largely inhabited by non-English-speaking immigrants. Arguing that the 1913 IWW strike gave Paterson "a reputation as a hotbed of revolutionary sentiment," Tripp ignores that the town had had such a reputation even before the IWW existed, for Paterson was a center of the Italian anarchist movement in this country for many years. In his *L'Anarchisme aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1903), Paul Ghio gives an eyewitness account of the outstanding anarchist agitator Luigi Galleani addressing a meeting of 8000 striking textile-workers in Paterson in June of 1902.

Tripp offers many lengthy quotations from various right-wing critics of the IWW—mostly politicians fond of the AFL, or hopeless sectarians—but her middle-of-the-road narrative does not seriously challenge what we already know about the Paterson events. Indeed, notwithstanding her evident disapproval of the Union's revolutionary orientation, she concludes by citing Fred Thompson's assessment that the IWW, unable to make the strike industry-wide, "could not win in the old silk center against modern technology in other towns, with the better looms owned by the same interests."

Bill Haywood once remarked that some strikes, even though lost, give "the lowest strata of wage-slaves in America a sense of their importance and capabilities such as never before existed," and therefore have a positive value after all. That's why Paterson 1913 is still remembered today.

—Franklin Rosemont

Transnational Corporations in the Third World

Transnational corporations are a comparatively new phenomenon that appeared in the late 1960s. Equipped with the best scientific minds, the most up-to-date information, the greatest financial resources and the most efficient technology, they produce everything man can create, from ordinary goods to cultural values.

In its home country (e.g. the United States or Switzerland) the TNC acts under some legal control and popular restriction but when it gets out to the Third World it has no respect for the national laws of the host country.

The TNC is very difficult to control because it is viewed as a new political agency with political independence in sovereign nation-states.

Once deeply entrenched, the TNC can decidedly affect the economy. It determines what we should like and what we should not like.

The abuse of power by the TNCs came under the scrutiny of the United Nations for the first time in early 1970s when the Chilean President, Salvador Allende, in an address at the UN General Assembly on Dec. 4, 1972, accused two TNCs, the International Telegraph and Telephone Co. (ITT) and the Kennecott Copper Corporation of interfering in Chilean political life and later attempting to overthrow his government.

The accusation led to an investigation into "The Impact of Multi-national Corporations on Development and International Relations." This group reported in May 1974 that in a number of cases, TNCs had actively promoted political intervention in the domestic affairs of host countries.

For any study of the impact of TNCs to be meaningful, it must have as its principal focus the people's welfare. TNCs must be judged in terms of whether or not they have contributed to the improvement of the quality of life of the majority in any nation and should not be measured in relation to the rise in GNP alone.

TNCs must be analyzed within the context of imperialism -- the rise of financial oligarchy and the imperial states. Their ability to determine policies and priorities (political, economic and cultural) and social class

formations has disorganized the natural progress of the Third World. As a result of this imperial dominance, the people are consigned to a life of poverty, ignorance and underdevelopment.

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The presence of TNCs in the Philippines is felt in almost all sectors of the economy. They have a virtual monopoly in the production of cars, pharmaceuticals, and the manufacture of rubber. They control food manufacturing, petroleum, refining and insurance. Through various legal measures, they have full control over vast tracks of land for mining, logging, export fruit-growing and other agri-business. Even the seas are exploited for tuna fishing and trawling activities.

In the rural areas, villagers are suddenly told to leave their homes to make way for hydroelectric dams and other big constructions. Farmers discover too late that TNCs, instead of helping them, were deceiving them all along. Inside the velvet glove are steel claws which leave tragic scars when they loosen their grip.

To be eligible for land reform, peasants were forced to adopt the so-called "Green Revolution" rice technology. The Ford-financed International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) based in the Philippines introduced high-yielding varieties of rice. These varieties, however, must be used together with fertilizers, pesticides and sophisticated irrigation techniques. Cost of fertilizers and chemicals increased by (386%) between 1970 and 1978. Other increases were land preparation (395%), irrigation (352%), seeds (176%), and interest payments (202%). Farmers were buried deeper in debt than ever.

In Malaysia, Japan's TNC, Mitsubishi Chemical Co., opened a plant near the small town of Papan, Perak. The Asian Rare Earth Company extracted compounds for electronic equipment from local monazite ore. Radioactive

thorium wastes were dumped in the open, close to the plant, in plastic bags that easily broke up. When it became known that radio-active wastes were being wantonly discarded by an affiliate of a Japanese company, a public furor erupted both in Malaysia and Japan where a coalition of citizens' groups denounced the Mitsubishi Corp.

Japanese genetics professor Dr. Ichikawa Sadao conducted radiation dosimetry measurements near the plant in 1984 at the invitation of local residents and Sahabat Alam Malaysia. Dr. Ichikawa found that environmental radiation levels far exceeded international guidelines for community exposure issued by the International Committee For Radiation Protection.

TNCs are nothing new in Sri Lanka. Shell and Unilever were there long before the multinational controversy erupted. Their presence was felt along with Standard Oil, Caltex, Bata and British-American Tobacco. In the period between 1950 and 1970 when most countries in Asia were invaded by American and Japanese capital, Sri Lanka nationalized oil distribution and insurance. The strategy adopted in foreign exchange difficulties compelled the TNCs to comply with strict exchange regulations.

The resultant situation made TNCs and all foreign capital wary of entering the country. The stranglehold of TNCs in the pharmaceutical industry was broken by the establishment of the State Pharmaceutical Corporation. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank made aid difficult and niggardly. By 1975, then Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike seemed to have second thoughts on the nationalization measures taken and turned away from the alternative of mobilizing the people against the conspiracies of imperialism. When J.R. Jayawardene came into power in 1977 he opened Sri Lanka to unrestricted foreign imports and a Free Trade Zone was proposed. IMF and World Bank directives were accepted and closely followed.

The South Korean government gave low wages as the most attractive of all incentives to TNCs. A special law was enacted in 1969 that prohibited all autonomous labor movements by workers employed by TNCs. Workers cannot even organize labor unions without permission

of the Labor Office. U.S. controlled TNCs sometimes pay special compensation for laying off (200 - 300%) of the monthly wage but some Japanese TNCs not only have done away with payment of such benefits but returned to Japan without settling their debts to banks in Korea.

One of the cases concerned the Japanese-owned Korean Electronic Cabinet, which did not pay wages for three months in 1979. The total amounted to 64 million won. The Japanese directors returned to Japan from where they mailed their letters of resignation, leaving no one in Korea responsible for payment of salaries. The total assets of the Korean Electronic Cabinet was 490 million won, while the bank loan was 1,800 million won.

After Japanese investors bought the Kumpawapi Sugar Mill in Udon Province in northeast Thailand they promoted sugarcane plantation by requesting that farmers pay for Hino trucks in sugarcane 15 to 20 tons a year. When farmers failed to meet the quota the trucks were confiscated by the company.

The Thai government fixed a guaranteed price for sugarcane at 300 baht (US\$11) per ton but the company only gave 268 baht. When farmers protested the company said they paid 300 baht. Included were such items as fertilizer, loan advances and road repairs which amounted to 15 baht, plus transport of sugar to Bangkok at 17 baht per ton. The farmers believe that the charge for transporting sugar to Bangkok is extremely unfair, as transport is the responsibility of the company, not of the farmers.

The sordid methods practiced by the TNCs in the rural and urban sectors of the Third World have to be eliminated. In the last decade public interest networks have emerged such as Health Action International, Pesticides Action Network, International Baby Food Action Network, Bhopal Action Network and others. The power is the new alliance of a wide variety of social action groups - consumer, development, environmental, women, workers and researchers. To combat TNCs growing menace, North and South have co-operated in global unity that is unprecedented in the history of citizen's movements.